

Carl A. Anderson
Athena's Epithets

Beiträge zur Altertumskunde

Herausgegeben von
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Their Structural Significance
in Plays of Aristophanes

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Preface

This monograph has its origins in a University of Michigan doctoral dissertation. I would like to express here my thanks to the University of Michigan, Department of Classical Studies, for the continued use of its research facilities during the transformation of the manuscript. I wish also to thank the College of Arts and Letters at Michigan State University for releasing me from other duties so that I could bring the project to completion.

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For the preparation of the final manuscript I give Traianos Gagos many thanks; his cheerful willingness to contribute time and computer expertise to the completion of the project is deeply appreciated. I am grateful to my friend Anne Haeckl for proofreading the final manuscript. Any errors and infelicities that remain are mine alone.

I also feel special gratitude to Professor Ludwig Koenen. His learned eye and scholarly imagination have improved this work at every turn. To my friend and wife Nancy I owe more than I can ever acknowledge.

Standard Abbreviations

The names of ancient authors and works are abbreviated as in LSJ, and periodicals as in *L'Année philologique*. For further abbreviations of secondary literature, see Bibliography.

I. General Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca</i> , ed. I. Bekker (Berlin 1814-21).
<i>ARV</i> ²	<i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , J. D. Beazley (Oxford ² 1963).
<i>ATL</i>	<i>The Athenian Tribute Lists</i> , B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery & M. F. McGregor, 4 vols. (Cambridge MA 1939-53).
<i>CAF</i>	<i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. Th. Kock (Leipzig 1880-88).
<i>CEG</i>	<i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , ed. P. A. Hansen, vol. 1 (Berlin 1983); vol 2 (Berlin 1989).
<i>CGFP</i>	<i>Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta</i> , ed. C. Austin (Berlin-New York 1973).
<i>CGS</i>	<i>The Cults of the Greek States</i> , L. R. Farnell, 5 vols. (Oxford 1896-1909).
Chantr.	Chantraine, P., <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, histoire des mots</i> (Paris 1968-1980).
<i>DAA</i>	<i>Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis</i> , edd. A. Raubitschek & L. Jeffery (Cambridge UK 1949).
<i>DFA</i>	<i>The Dramatic Festivals of Athens</i> , A. Pickard-Cambridge, rev. by J. Gould & D. M. Lewis (Oxford ² 1968).
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy</i> , A. Pickard-Cambridge, rev. by T. B. L. Webster (Oxford ² 1962).

- FCG* *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, ed. A. Meineke, 5 vols. (Berlin 1840-57).
- FGrH* *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin 1923-30, Leiden 1940-58).
- Frisk Frisk, H., *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960-72).
- GHI* *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, ed. M. N. Tod, 2 vols. (Oxford 1946-48).
- GGR*³ *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, M. P. Nilsson, vol. 1 (München³ 1967); vol. 2 (München³ 1974).
- HCT* *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes & K. J. Dover, 5 vols. (Oxford 1945-81).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- KG Kühner, R. & Gerth, B., *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre* (Hanover 1898-1904).
- LGPN* 2 *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, edd. M. J. Osborne, & S. G. Byrne, vol. 2 (Oxford 1994).
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, edd. J. Boardman et al. (1981-).
- LSJ Liddell, H. G. & Scott, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. H. Jones & R. McKenzie (with Suppl., Oxford⁹ 1968).
- ML Meiggs, R. & Lewis D., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, rev. ed. (Oxford 1988).
- M-W Merkelbach, R. & West, M. L., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967).
- N² Nauck, A., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig² 1889).
- PA *Prosopographia Attica*, J. Kirchner (Berlin 1901-03).

- PCG** *Poetae Comici Graeci*, edd. R. Kassel & C. Austin, vols. 2; 3.2; 4; 5; 7 (Berlin-New York 1983-).
- PDAA** *A Pictorial Dictionary of Athens*, J. Travlos (New York 1971).
- PMG** *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. Page (Oxford 1962).
- PMGF** *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. M. Davies (Oxford 1991).
- RE** Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1970; München 1972).
- Schol. Ar.** *Scholia in Aristophanem*, edd. W. J. Koster et al. (Groningen 1962-).
- Schol. Pind.** *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, ed. A. B. Drachmann (Leipzig 1903-1927).
- SEG** *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SH** *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, edd. H. Lloyd-Jones & P. Parsons (Berlin-New York 1985).
- SIG³** *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, edd. W. Dittenberger & F. Hiller de Gärtringen (Leipzig³ 1915-24).
- SLG** *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, ed. D. Page (Oxford 1974).
- SRFGP** *Some Recently Found Greek Poems*, edd. J. Bremer, A. van Erp Taalman Kip & S. Slings (Leiden 1987).
- TrGF** *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 1– (Göttingen 1971–); 3. *Aeschylus*, S. Radt (Göttingen 1985); 4. *Sophocles*, S. Radt (Göttingen 1977).
- W** West, M. L., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, vol. 1 (Oxford² 1989); vol. 2 (Oxford² 1992).

II. Commentaries and Editions of Ancient Authors

Unless otherwise indicated, the text of the Greek and Latin authors is that of the *Oxford Classical Texts*. Quotations of Aristophanes are from Dover's *Clouds* and *Frogs*, Henderson's *Lysistrata*, Platnauer's *Peace*, and the *Ecclesiazusae* of Ussher; all other quotations from the poet are from the Budé edition of Coulon. In addition, I list the following:

Aeschylus *Aeschylus Agamemnon*, E. Fraenkel, 3 vols. (Oxford 1950).

Aristophanes *Ausgewählte Komödien des Aristophanes*, Th. Kock, 4 vols. (Berlin 1882-98).

The Knights of Aristophanes, R. A. Neil (Cambridge 1901).

The Acharnians of Aristophanes, W. J. Starkie (London 1909).

Aristophane, V. Coulon & H. van Daele, 5 vols. (Paris 1923-30).

Aristophanes Lysistrata, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin 1927).

Aristophanes Peace, M. Platnauer (Oxford 1964).

Aristophanes Clouds, K. J. Dover (Oxford 1968).

Aristophanes Wasps, D. M. MacDowell (Oxford 1971).

Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae, R. Ussher (Oxford 1973).

The Comedies of Aristophanes, A. H. Sommerstein, vol. 1 *Acharnians* (Warminster 1980); vol. 2 *Knights* (Warminster 1981); vol. 6 *Birds* (Warminster 1987); vol. 7 *Lysistrata* (Warminster 1990).

Aristophanes Lysistrata, J. J. Henderson (Oxford 1987).

Aristophanes Frogs, K. J. Dover (Oxford 1993).

Callimachus *Callimachus*, R. Pfeiffer, 2 vols. (Oxford 1949-53).

- Callimachus *Callimachus. The Fifth Hymn*, A. W. Bulloch (Cambridge UK 1985).
- Euripides *Euripides Hippolytus*, W. S. Barrett (Oxford 1964).
Euripides Helena, R. Kannicht, 2 vols. (Heidelberg 1969).
- Hesiod *Hesiod Theogony*, M. L. West (Oxford 1966).
- Homeric Hymn *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, N. Richardson (Oxford 1974).
- Menander *Menandri quae supersunt*, A. Koerte, rev. by A. Thierfelder, 2 vols. (Leipzig² 1959).
Menander: A Commentary, A. Gomme & F. Sandbach (Oxford 1973).
- Orphica *Orphica*, E. Abel (Leipzig 1885).
- Pindar *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis. Pars I. Epinicia*, post B. Snell. Ed. H. Maehler (Leipzig⁸ 1987)
Pars II. Fragmenta, Indices. Ed. H. Maehler (Leipzig 1989).
- Scholia *Scholia in Lycophronis Alexandram*, E. Scheer, vol. 2 (Berlin² 1958).

Introduction

Classical scholars have long assumed that the treatment of Athena in the comedies of Aristophanes is of little critical interest for understanding characters and themes or for appreciating audience reaction to the plays. Spectators, it is argued, would enjoy watching comic representations of Zeus (*Clouds*), Poseidon (*Birds*) and Dionysus (*Frogs*), but they would take offense at ridiculous and irreverent treatments of Athena, either because she demanded special honor and reverence as goddess of the city,¹ or because no comic or popular tradition had developed around her.² However, there might have been a comic tradition involving Athena if we accept Hermippus' Ἀθηναῖς γοναί as evidence.³ On the other hand, some critics would deny that this play dealt with the goddess at all,⁴ and

¹ Nock, *Essays*, vol. 2, 543, remarks in a discussion of Greek attitudes toward Aristophanes' treatment of the gods: "There are limits, even for Aristophanes: no essential levity touches the Maiden of the Acropolis or Demeter. Further, the poet's popularity shows that he did not give offense; and the Athenian people could take offense, and that not only at things which stirred them as deeply as did the mutilation of the Hermae and the supposed parody of the Eleusinian mysteries." Cf. also Nestle, *Griechische Religiosität*, vol. 2, 135-44.

² See, for example, Guglielmino, *La parola*, who argues that Athena and Apollo are exempt from comic portrayals because no comic tradition had developed for either deity (see Hofmann, *Mythos und Komödie*, esp. 19-24). Apollo's epithets in Aristophanes are listed in the Appendix.

³ PCG 5, frs. 2-6. That Athena was a character in Hermippus' comedy seemed clear to Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, vol. 2, 95, who cites the play as evidence that the comic poets portrayed even the most sacred and revered figures on stage. See also Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 5.2, 42 n. 3.

⁴ Meineke, *FGC* vol. 1, pp. 279-82, notes that comic treatment of myths about the birth of gods is typically a feature of Middle Comedy, and even for that period no plays entitled *Birth of Athena* have survived. Hermippus is the only poet of Old Comedy known to have written a *Birth of Athena*. Nock, *Essays*, vol. 2, 543 n. 41 (following Meineke), writes that Hermippus' play "was probably a satire on the myth about Zeus rather than on the goddess as worshipped." Winkler, *CQ* 1982, 138, argues that Hermippus' play dealt with Athena's metaphorical "offspring, i.e. mortal housewives or maidens" who exemplified or perverted the works and nature of a god. Winkler adds, "the title *Offspring of Athena* may be read as an ironic collective term,

the fact remains that the fragments are insufficient to support either one position or the other.⁵

Scholars deny comic relevance to Athena in Aristophanes because they see the poet as withholding from her the farcical treatment typically accorded to other gods. In so doing, they ignore a major dimension of the goddess's role in the work of Aristophanes. That Athena is not a stage character in the extant plays does not mean she lacks relevance. It is my position that Athena's epithets and names provide previously unrecognized evidence for the evaluation of her role in Aristophanic comedy and that an appreciation of Athena's special place in some of the poet's most important plays affects our interpretation of them.

Aristophanes singles Athena out from the other gods because of her unique associations with Athenian politics. Athena is protector of the city, the provider of wealth and prosperity, patron of crafts, public feasting and festivals, and guardian of religious and civic traditions. It should not be surprising, then, that epithets of Athena often function quite differently from those accorded other divinities. Epithets of other gods, by contrast, play little part in the development of plots, characters or themes. On a few occasions the epithets of other deities figure in Aristophanes' treatment of Athena, and when they do, they invariably complement or reinforce the power and prominence that she enjoys as goddess of the Acropolis and defender of the city.

The special role of Athena's epithets can be illustrated by her title τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα in *Knights* (763). In Chapter I, I discuss fully the political and dramatic implications of μεδέουσα in this play. For the present it is sufficient to note that the title is closely associated with Themistocles, who is reported to have entrusted the city to the care of

something like the phrase 'daughters of Eve,' indicating an essential fallibility and inferiority in women." But it is difficult to see how the virgin goddess can be connected even metaphorically with "offspring." Cf. Nesselrath, *Mittlere Komödie*, 230 n. 143.

⁵ Focus on Athena is, however, attested by fragments 4 and 5, which depict Athena (?) reflecting on weaving and wool-working: ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τουτονὶ τὸν στήμονα ἴαττεσθ' ἐπινόων (fr. 4) and: καιροσπάθητον ἀνθέων ὕφασμα καὶνὸν Ὠρῶν ἰλεπτοὺς διαψαίρουσα πέπλους ἀνθέων γέμοντας (fr. 5). The poet Amphis wrote a comedy entitled *Akko*, whose name became proverbial for stupidity and foolishness (*PCG* 2, fr. 1); Hermippus is also reported to have used her in his *Birth of Athena* (cf. *CAF* vol. 2, p. 236). In fact, Winkler, *CQ* 1982, attributes the above fragments of Hermippus to the stage character Akko.

Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα and the other gods at the time of the Persian invasion in 480. Few commentators have noticed that this epithet is not an isolated ornament, but an intrinsic feature in a complex of allusions to Themistocles.⁶

These allusions are part of the Paphlagonian's self-portrayal as a new Themistocles in the competition. Moreover, the character of Themistocles passes over to the Sausage-seller, who assumes heroic status by his victory over the Paphlagonian at the end of the play. In order to appreciate fully Athena's role in that victory, it is important to recognize the overall function that μεδέουσα plays in this set of allusions to the hero of the Persian War (cf. Anderson, *AJP* 1989).

Typical examples of other gods whose epithets are not significant in the same way as Athena's are those of Poseidon and Zeus. Poseidon, for example, is called ἀσφάλειος in *Acharnians* (682). In the epirrhema of the parabasis the Coryphaeus complains that the city allows the old men of Acharnae to be mistreated and mocked in the courts by young politicians and their lackeys (676-91). Once able to fight sea battles for the city (677), he observes, they are now silent and exhausted men whose walking-stick (βακτηρία) is their Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος. The epithet ἀσφάλειος represents Poseidon, worshipped at Athens and elsewhere, as he steadies the land when an earthquake strikes.⁷ It is not an ad hoc coinage of Aristophanes, but rather a conventional epithet that he here appropriates for comic effect. The immediate joke seems to be that without Poseidon's walking-stick the choristers have nothing to keep them from "stumbling to the ground."⁸ The title may also suggest

⁶ Jameson, *Hesperia* 1960, 210, regards μεδέουσα at *Knights* 763 as a reference perhaps specifically to the Themistocles Decree of 480 B. C. In a discussion of the relationship between the title in this passage of *Knights* and in the Themistocles Decree, Meritt, *Lectures*, 127, writes, "With this phrase Aristophanes brought to mind in his Athenian audience...the famous decree. This is doubly sure, since the usage is not merely abstract, but coupled with his comparison with Themistocles." Meritt, however, offers no further elaboration.

⁷ At 509-11 Dicaeopolis wishes "the god of Taenarum," i.e. Poseidon ἀσφάλειος, would send an earthquake against the Spartans, thus recalling the great earthquake of 466 B.C. (Ar. *Lys.* 1142; Thuc. 101.2, 128.1; Paus. 7.25.1). For cult sites of Poseidon ἀσφάλειος and its counterpart γαιήοχος in Greece, see Simon, *Götter*, 69 fig. 62.

⁸ The name Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος is comically derived from ποῦς "foot" and σφάλλῃσθαι "to stumble, stagger" (*Schol Ar., Ach.* 682; Starkie, *Ach.* 682; Som-

that their only remaining support is Poseidon's walking-stick, which has replaced his maritime support in the past, when it was Poseidon who gave them naval victory.⁹ In any case, Poseidon himself is marginal to the play's themes, and the epithet ἀσφάλειος has no broad dramatic or political significance, either for our interpretation of the parabasis or of the drama as a whole.

Likewise, Zeus is called μεγαβρόντης at *Wasps* 323. In the scene in which the epithet appears, Philocleon looks out from the window of his house and sings a paratragic solo. He laments his confinement in his house, and in mock despair he prays to Zeus μεγαβρόντης to transform him into smoke, bake him with a thunderbolt, or turn him into the stone upon which the juryman's ballots are counted, so that he can join his fellow dicasts (323-33).¹⁰ The epithet μεγαβρόντης is an ad hoc comical formation of the poet.¹¹ The connection between the epithet and the prayer to be blasted by a thunderbolt is obvious. The joke turns on the incongruity between the invocation to Zeus μεγαβρόντης and the unexpected and ridiculous aim of the prayer. The epithet contributes to the immediate humor of the scene but it has no additional function. The characterization of Zeus as μεγαβρόντης adds nothing significant to the development of plot, themes or characterization. Μεγαβρόντης is merely part of an occasional joke.

When epithets of Zeus assume broader thematic significance, they are used in connection with Athena. This is illustrated by the epithet παγκρατής in *Thesmophoriazusae*. Both Zeus and Athena are addressed by this title in the odes of the parodos (Athena, 317, Zeus, 368). Scholars have passed over the repetition of the epithet without

merstein, *Ach.* 682). For σφάλλεσθαι meaning "to stumble, stagger," cf. *Ve.* 1324; Taillardat, *Images*, 879.

⁹ If not the naval victory at Salamis, then perhaps Athens' reliance on sea power.

¹⁰ Philocleon's lament parodies those often uttered by tragic characters who long to be freed from life's troubles (e.g., *A. Supp.* 779-82 [smoke]; *S. Tr.* 1086 [struck by a thunderbolt]; *E. HF* 1397 [turned into stone]; Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 64-66; Rau, *Paratragödie*, 150-52).

¹¹ Cf. Hermes' invocation of Zeus κεραυνοβρόντης to blast Trygaeus with a thunderbolt: ὦ Ζεῦ κεραυνοβρόντα, *Pax* 376. For other epithets of Zeus formed with -βρόντης, cf. *Pi.* fr. 155, καρτεροβρόντης, which actually comes down to μεγαβρόντης; *O.* 9, 42, αἰολοβρόντης (all apparently ad hoc).

comment, and have regarded the appeal to Zeus παγκρατής as connected only to the ratification of the women's curses, and as having nothing to do with Athena.¹² But in extant literature παγκρατής is attested with Athena only here, and, as I argue in Chapter III, Aristophanes uses the epithet to make a particular link between the tutelary power of Zeus and Athena together at Athens. Zeus and Athena are portrayed as united against enemies of the comic demos of women in the world of the play, just as they are united against enemies of the male demos in the political world of Athens.

As I have suggested by the previous examples, my approach in this study is based on interpreting the epithets of Athena not only in the dramatic context of the plays, but also in the broader context of Athenian politics, religion and society. Accordingly, I examine literary and epigraphical as well as archaeological evidence for the worship of Athena at Athens. Other recent treatments of Aristophanes have demonstrated the benefits of placing Old Comedy in a broader social and cultural setting. For example, we now recognize and appreciate paratragedy not only for its exploitation of tragedy for comic effect, but also as a powerful vehicle of political and social criticism for the poet.¹³ Likewise, we appreciate the parabasis as providing an important link between the identities of the poet, protagonist and chorus, and between the play and its audience.¹⁴ What is most striking is that many of the civic and political ideals to which Aristophanic comedy appeals are now recognized not simply as reflecting conventions of the genre, but as reinforcing values and perspectives of the Athenian demos.¹⁵ These perspectives cannot be reduced to a specific public policy, but rather should be understood as "something like a consistent political ideal, that of the city at peace, the happy city, in which privacy, farming, devotion to family, and piety, especially in the form of public feasting and festivals, are the way of

¹² Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 33-40; Haldane, *Philologus* 1965, 39-46; Horn, *Gebet und Gebetsparodie*, 106-15.

¹³ The standard literary treatment of paratragedy is Rau, *Paratragödie*. For discussion of political and social aspects of paratragedy, see Goldhill, *Poet's Voice*, Chapter II; Foley, *JHS* 1988.

¹⁴ For the relationship between parabases, audience and politics in Aristophanes, see Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy*, *passim*.

¹⁵ For discussion of political and social aspects of the dramatic festivals and performances, see Henderson, *Dionysos*, *passim*; Goldhill, *Dionysos*, *passim*.

life" (Edmunds, *Aristophanes' Politics*, 66). The present study complements these newer approaches by extending our understanding of the ideal "city at peace" to include the poet's idealized representation of its goddess.

In Chapters I and II, I discuss Athena's representations in *Knights* and *Lysistrata*. Both of these comedies contain not only the highest frequency of Athena's epithets (which in itself is interesting),¹⁶ but also accord her a considerable role in the characterization of speakers and in the development of themes and plots. In *Knights* Aristophanes fashions complex and contrasting portraits of Athena to highlight the antagonists' different conceptions of her and, by extension, of her city. For the Paphlagonian-Cleon, she is a reflection of himself, war-mongering, grasping, and violent. For the Sausage-seller, however, Athena is goddess of peace and prosperity, and provider of food, wine and civic feasts and festivals. Similarly, Aristophanes affords a central role to Athena in the *Lysistrata*. The essentially martial goddess of the old men contrasts with the wives' Athena, who protects and defends family and city, and provides a means to transform Sparta into the Athens of the Peloponnese, and so ensure victory for the Athenians.

The idealized picture of the goddess that appears in *Knights* and *Lysistrata* reappears in a different context in *Thesmophoriazusae*, which I discuss in Chapter III. This comedy is generally viewed as a parody of Euripidean tragedy, but Athena plays a meaningful role in the context of the demos of women, who are at times portrayed as an assembly of celebrants at the festival, and at other times as acting like the real male demos at Athens. When the women curse Euripides, they include him among political enemies of the city. These curses, as I argue, add a political dimension to the play. Here again we see that the characters who are portrayed sympathetically, in this case the women at the festival, display an idealized vision of Athena similar to that which I discuss in *Knights* and *Lysistrata*.

¹⁶ Athena's prominence in *Knights* and *Lysistrata* cannot be ascribed merely to the presence of a common theme, i.e., the salvation of Athens from corrupt and misguided political leaders (cf. the Paphlagonian-Cleon at *Eq.* 146-49, 458; the chorus of old men at *Lys.* 30, 41, 49-501, 525). This same theme occurs in *Birds* and *Peace*, but Athena plays no significant role in either work.

The structural use of Athena's titles is only traceable in these three comedies of Aristophanes. Epithets of the goddess occur occasionally in other dramas, namely *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Peace*, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*, where they may contribute to the immediate comic situation. With the exception of *Clouds*, however, where they momentarily illuminate central aspects of the play, the epithets serve no structural function, nor are they part of a sustained and overarching pattern. Nonetheless, in order to explicate their occasional nature, I end the study with discussion of Athena's epithets as they occur in these five comedies. Since my approach from the beginning has been to study Athena's epithets in their particular contexts, I do not treat the goddess as she appears in the comic fragments of Aristophanes. Likewise I do not examine epithets as they appear in oaths inasmuch as they are reviewed and discussed elsewhere.¹⁷ A list of the occurrences of epithets of Athena and the other major deities in the extant plays of Aristophanes is given in the Appendix.

¹⁷ No epithets occur in connection with oaths sworn by Athena; indeed, oaths sworn by the goddess rarely occur in Aristophanes at all (only *Pax* 218). For the distribution and form of oaths (and exclamations) among deities in Old Comedy, see Blaszczyk, *Götteranrufung*; Werres, *Beteuerungsformeln*.

Chapter I

Athena in Knights

The main subject of *Knights*, produced in 424 B.C., is the salvation of the city from the demagoguery of Cleon, who has taken control of the house of Demos. The plot of the play revolves around the continuing competition between the Paphlagonian, a thin disguise for Cleon, and the Sausage-seller, who wins over Demos by topping the Paphlagonian's efforts to pander to the master. Each of the two competitors, seeking to become steward of the household, tries to align Athena, the obvious champion of the Athenians, to his side.

Aristophanes uses epithets of Athena systematically in this play, and each use reflects differing conceptions of the goddess on the part of the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller. From the competition there emerges a picture of what the goddess should represent according to the comic values set forth in the play. The ten epithets that are used to describe Athena occur in three passages: 1) the invocation of the goddess in the parabolic antode (581-94); 2) at the beginning of the second agon when the Paphlagonian-Cleon prays to Athena for public honors (763-68); and 3) during the final food-serving contest that precedes the Paphlagonian's defeat at the hands of the Sausage-seller (1151-1263). Athena also figures prominently in the competition of dream-oracles that precedes the food-serving contest; although no epithets of Athena appear in this section, the visions of the goddess which the antagonists claim to have had in the final pair of dream-oracles complement and reinforce those reflected by the epithets (1090-95).

The first passage I will examine is the antode of the parabasis. In the transitional scene that precedes the parabasis, the Paphlagonian departs for the Council to lay information against the Sausage-seller, a Slave and the chorus of knights for plotting against the security of the city (461-97). The Sausage-seller follows after him to refute these charges. In the

course of the parabasis (498-607), the chorus sings an ode to Poseidon (551-64) and an antode to Athena, who is asked to bring Nike along with her, to join the choral dance (581-94).¹ Deities are often invited to join choral dances in plays of Aristophanes, but the tone and content of this invocation is particularly striking.² As I will show, the poet exploits language commonly associated with factional strife in order to fashion a comic "conspiracy" against the Paphlagonian-Cleon. At the same time he links Athena's interest in the security of Athens with his own interest in securing victory at the dramatic festival.³

In the antode the chorus of knights calls on the goddess as πολιοῦχος, Παλλὰς and μεδέουσα:

ὦ πολιοῦχε Παλλὰς, ὦ
 τῆς ἱερωτάτης ἀπα-
 σῶν πολέμῳ τε καὶ ποη-
 ταῖς δυνάμει θ' ὑπερφερού-
 σης μεδέουσα χώρας,
 δεῦρ' ἀφικοῦ λαβοῦσα τὴν
 ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις
 ἡμετέραν ξυνεργὸν
 Νίκην, ἥ χορικῶν ἐστὶν ἑταῖρα
 τοῖς τ' ἐχθροῖσι μεθ' ἡμῶν στασιάζει.
 Νῦν, οὖν δεῦρο φάνηθι· δεῖ
 γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε πά-

¹ Athena (ἡ θεός, i.e. Polias) is first mentioned by the Paphlagonian, who charges the Sausage-seller is descended from the family who has offended the goddess (i.e. the Alcmaeonids): ἐκ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων σέ φημι γεγονέναι τῶν τῆς θεοῦ (445-46). The allusion is specifically to the hereditary curse which the archon Megacles had brought on his family for slaying the Cylonian conspirators, who had taken refuge in the precinct of Athena Polias (Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126). The Sausage-seller counters by linking the Paphlagonian's genealogy to the bodyguards of the Pisistratids (447-48). For metrical and structural similarities in the parabolic ode and antode of *Knights* and its connection to traditional cult-poetry, see Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, 191-96.

² Cf. *Ach.* 665-75 (the Muse); *Nu.* 563-74 (Zeus, Poseidon, Aether and Helios), 595-606 (Apollo, Artemis and her Lydian attendants, Athena, Dionysus and the Delphic maenads); *Pax.* 775-96 (the Muse); *Th.* 1148-59 (Athena, Demeter and Persephone); *Ra.* 324-36 (Iacchus), 384-94 (Demeter), 400-13 (Iacchus again), 674-85 (the Muse).

³ For discussion of ways by which the poet links his professional interests and identity with characters and themes in the play, see Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy*, 60-87.

ση τέχνη πορίσαι σε νί-
κην εὔπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν. (581-94)

The three epithets here invite further examination. Πολιοῦχος is a stock title used to denote the tutelary deity of a city. The epithet often occurs as a poetic synonym for Athena Polias, and is commonly found at Athens in dedications to the goddess on the Acropolis.⁴ The three other occurrences of πολιοῦχος in the comedies indicate that the poet regularly uses this epithet to designate Athena Polias.⁵ Παλλάς itself is an epic title and name of Athena as she stands armed and ready to defend the citadel and the city.⁶ At Athens, Pallas Athena is familiar not as a divinity of war, as in epic poetry, but of military power that serves to guard or protect; and it is this aspect of the goddess that Aristophanes emphasizes in the passage above.⁷ The third epithet, μεδέουσα, is also a poetic title,

⁴ For πολιοῦχος as a synonym of Polias, see *CGS* vol. 1, 299; *GGR*³ 433-37; Burkert, *Religion*, 140. For dedications to Athena πολιοῦχος on the Acropolis, see *CEG* 1, 198 (*IG* 1³.683, column dedication, ca. 510-500 B.C.), 235 (*IG* 1³.718, column dedication, ca. 500-480 B.C.), 282 (*IG* 1³.544, bronze pomegranate, ca. 550 B.C.), 296 (bronze pot, ante 480 B.C.), all metrical.

⁵ *Nu.* 601-02: ἢ τ' ἐπιχώριος ἡμετέρα θεὸς ἰαγίδος ἡνίοχος, πολιοῦχος Ἀθάννα, *Lys.* 344: πολιοῦχε, σὰς ἔσχον ἔδρας, *Av.* 826-27: Τίς δαὶ θεὸς ἰ πολιοῦχος ἔσται; Τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον; cf. the chorus' address to Athena at *Th.* 318-19, καὶ σύ... πόλιν οἰκοῦσα, and *Th.* 1139-40, παρθένον... ἢ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει.

⁶ In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Παλλάς occurs in the formulaic phrase Παλλάς Ἀθήνη (e.g., *Il.* 4.541; *Od.* 23.160) or Παλλάς Ἀθηναίη (e.g., *Il.* 11.438; *Od.* 14.252). Παλλάς stands by itself as a name twice in the Homeric corpus: *h. Hom. Dem.* 424, and in the Hellenistic *Batr.* 275 (cf. Wölke, *Batrachomyomachia*, 46-70). Hesiod and the lyric poets follow the general practice of Homer; Pindar, Bacchylides and the tragic poets alternate in their use of Παλλάς alone (*Pi. O.* 2.26; Bacchyl. 5.92; *A. Th.* 130; *S. Ai.* 953; *E. Tro.* 47) or Παλλάς-Ἀθήνη. The image of the palladion represented Athena as standing, outfitted in helmet and aegis, and holding her shield and raised spear (Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 66; Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, 111). The etymology of Παλλάς is given in Homer, scholia ad *Il.* 1. 200; see Koenen-Merkelbach, *P. Coll. Youtie*, vol. 1, 16-17; Burkert, *Religion*, 140. For Παλλάς in epigrams (all dedications from the Athenian Acropolis), see *CEG* 1, index.

⁷ Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 37, characterizes the Athenians' Pallas Athena as a deity who serves to protect or guard the state and who represents a kind of idealized "civic emblem" (Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 187; Pinney, *Symposium on Pottery*, 476 ff.). Aristophanes also refers to the Athenian Pallas at *Nu.* 300 (χθόνα Παλλάδος), *Th.* 1136 (Παλλάδα φιλόχορον), *Ec.* 476 (πότνια Παλλάς) and *Pl.* 772 (σεμνῆς Παλλάδος). Of the three additional references to Pallas Athena, *Eq.* 1172 locates her outside of Athens (Παλλάς ἡ Πυλαιμάχος), *Nu.* 967 alludes to the title of an old-fashioned song (Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν, cf. Dover, *Clouds*, ad

and is customarily used with the tutelary deity of a special place.⁸ Aristophanes uses the epithet in connection with Poseidon and Athena in *Knights* and with Aphrodite in *Lysistrata* (834). Μεδέουσα is also attested as a cult title of Athena Polias in inscriptions found on several island states of the Delian League, namely Samos, Cos, Colophon and Carpathus (see below). An additional attestation of μεδέουσα occurs in the Themistocles Decree, which, as I will argue, provides the background to the Paphlagonian's prayer to Athena τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα (763).

Let us now turn to discussion of the epithets themselves. The combination πολιοῦχος Παλλάς evokes a familiar image of Athena as armed goddess of the Acropolis and patron of Athens.⁹ The epithet μεδέουσα is not commonly found with Athena in Aristophanes, but μεδέουσα χώρας recalls and balances the earlier invocation to Poseidon as δελφίνων μεδέων (551). Athena and Poseidon defend the city and its navy, respectively. The phrase μεδέουσα χώρας, moreover, is especially associated with the generalship of Themistocles and the Persian invasion of Attica (see below); thus the appeal to Athena as μεδέουσα χώρας heightens the sense that Athens is again in mortal danger, and does so in a way that focuses on the important role of Aristophanes' poetry in saving it. Athena is protector of the land excelling in war, poets, and power (583-85). The unexpected placement of poets (ποιηταί) between the abstracts war (πόλεμος) and power (δύναμις) contributes to the humor of the prayer. At the same time of course the joke renders Aristophanes slightly ridiculous by implying that he is critical to the security of Athens.

The representation of Athena as patron of warriors and poets leads naturally to the introduction of Nike, who is associated with victory in war and success in athletic and dramatic competitions.¹⁰ Indeed, the

loc.) and *Nu.* 1265 quotes apparently from a tragedy of Xenocles, *Licymnius* fr. 1 N² (ὦ Παλλάς ὥς με ἀπώλεσας, cf. Rau, *Paratragodia*, 191).

⁸ The epithet μεδέουσα/μεδέων is especially found in epic (cf. LSJ s.v. μεδέων). See also Henrichs' discussion of μεδέουσα as a poetic term and a cult title with certain deities (*HSPh* 1976, esp. 264-66).

⁹ For other examples of the epithet combination, cf. Pi. *O.* 5. 10; Call. *Lav.* Pall. 53 (with Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*).

¹⁰ Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen*, 58-59. The early cult of Athena Nike on the Acropolis seems to be connected to the foundation of the Panathenaic games in 566

poet's victory in the competition is linked to military victory over enemies of the knights and the city as a whole. Nike is called the "helpmate" (ξυνεργός) of the chorus in campaigns and battles (588), and the "partisan" (ἐταίρα) of the songs of the knights (589), with whom she "takes sides" (στασιάζει) against "enemies" (ἐχθροίς).¹¹ Although the terms ξυνεργός and ἐταίρα in themselves can be neutral, their association with the polemical στασιάζει indicates their political dimension. The choice of the term ἐχθροίς, "political enemies," to describe the chorus' opponents completes the joke. Aristophanes here enlists Poseidon, Athena, himself, Nike, the chorus of knights and the audience (τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε, 592) as members of the same political club, or ἐταιρεία. They are the alliance that the Paphlagonian has alleged to be plotting against him and the state.¹² The conspirators' objective, however, is not oligarchic revolution for the city, but rather the defeat and banishment of their most immediate enemy from the house of Demos.

The choristers' appeal for the presence of Nike deserves further attention. The audience will be reminded of the recent dedication of a statue of the goddess as well as the completion of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis. Inscriptional evidence, which derives from two decrees, indicates that the building of this temple and the appointment and salary of the Nike priestess were a matter of continued public interest. The later of these two decrees is securely dated to 424/23, the year immediately following the production of the comedy.¹³ Attempts to date the earlier of the decrees have proved inconclusive.¹⁴ There is,

B.C. (DAA no. 329, pp. 359-64; the inscription is poetic). Athena is addressed as Nike Polias at S. Ph. 134: Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνη Πολιάς.

¹¹ μάχη commonly refers to military contests, but it can also be used to denote athletic competitions (Pi. O. 8. 58); the leap from an athletic competition for a prize to a dramatic competition for one is not great.

¹² The Paphlagonian tells the Sausage-seller and chorus: Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ' εἰς βουλήν ἰὼν ἢ ὑμῶν ἀπάντων τὰς ξυνωμοσίας ἐρῶ, ἢ καὶ τὰς ξυνόδους τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἢ καὶ πάνθ' ἃ Μήδοις καὶ βασιλεῖ ξυνόμνυτε, (475-78). Cf. 236, 452, 461-63, 477-78. For the terminology of partisanship and conspiracy, see Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs*, 4-7 (esp. 5 n. 2 and 6 n. 7); Connor, *New Politicians*, index, s.v. *hetaireiai*.

¹³ IG 1².25 (ML 71). The date is given by the secretary Neocleides (ML 70 line 5 and Wade-Gery, *Essays*, 208-09).

¹⁴ IG 1².24 (ML 44). Some scholars, primarily on the basis of letter-forms, date this inscription ca. 450-445 B.C. (e.g., Meiggs, *JHS* 1966, 92). Others are skeptical

however, broad agreement that the Nike temple itself was completed in 425/24.¹⁵ Indeed, the completion of the temple and the public dedication of a statue of Nike in the same year, commemorating the naval victories of Phormio, who himself is mentioned explicitly in the preceding ode to Poseidon (562), virtually ensures that Aristophanes' reference to Nike will resonate powerfully with the audience of *Knights*. Spectators would have known that the temple of Athena Nike was now or soon to be completed, and a new statue had been dedicated.¹⁶ The Nike of the antode, whom Athena is to bring along as the knights' "helpmate in expeditions and battles" and "partisan of choral songs" (587-89), is envisioned both as a powerful presence on the Acropolis and as a fellow conspirator in the plot to rescue the city and simultaneously win victory for the comic poet.

In the invocation of the preceding ode, Poseidon is portrayed as patron of the chorus and the navy (551-64). The praise of Poseidon here as lord of horses, ἵππυ' ἄναξ (551), reflects of course the god's patronage of the knights, whose horses are praised in the antepirrhema (595-610).¹⁷ The connection between Poseidon ἵππιος and Athena is not

of any chronology based primarily on letter-forms, and instead date the decree to the early 420's, thereby connecting it to the actual building of the temple (e.g., Mattingly, *AJA* 1982). For the limitations of the epigraphical criterion regarding this inscription, see Fornara-Samons, *Cleisthenes to Pericles*, Appendix 10, 182-87. For recent discussion of the limitations of epigraphical criteria for establishing chronology, see T. F. Winters, "The Dates of the Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis," *ZPE*, forthcoming.

¹⁵ PDAA 148-49; Wycherley, *Stones of Athens*, 28; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 137.

¹⁶ IG 2².403 calls for the restoration of the Nike statue that had been dedicated to commemorate Phormio's spectacular successes over the Peloponnesian fleet near Acarnania (cf. Thuc. 2.83-84, 86-92; for Phormio's military reputation among the Athenians, see Kock, *Eq.*, ad 562). The chorus sings of Poseidon's favor for Phormio and the Athenians (who had dedicated a captured enemy ship to the god, cf. Thuc. 2.84.4):

ὦ Γεραίσι τε παῖ Κρονοῦ
 Φορμίωνί τε φίλτατ' ἐκ
 τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίους πρὸς τὸ παρεστός. (561-64)

¹⁷ The chorus praises their horses for heroics in marine operations against Corinthian territory in the preceding year (Thuc. 2.12.2; 2.22.2; 3.1.3). Aristophanes again refers to Poseidon ἵππιος in an oath uttered by Pheidippides, who appears to have brought a statue of the god into the sleeping quarters: νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τουτονὶ

made explicit, but her association with horses is well-known, and calls to mind the common worship of Athena ἵππια and Poseidon ἵππιος at Colonus.¹⁸ As noted above, the chorus addresses Poseidon as μεδέων. The repetition of this epithet draws a thematic link between Athena μεδέουσα and Poseidon μεδέων as defenders of the city and the naval empire. Moreover, praise of Poseidon as δελφίνων μεδέων not only recalls the god's mastery of the sea, but also plays specifically on his patronage of the Athenian navy and the Sausage-seller. The δελφίς was a heavy lead weight that was shaped like a dolphin and hung over the yard-arm to be dropped onto the deck of an enemy vessel. Presumably, it was deployed in Phormio's recent naval victory, and it is precisely the weapon the knights urge the Sausage-seller to use against their enemy, the Paphlagonian-Cleon, at the start of the second agon (756-62).¹⁹ The chorus even compares the Sausage-seller to Poseidon when it predicts that he will harass and rule over the subject-allies with "trident in hand" (ἔχων τρίαιναν, 840).²⁰

Poseidon's association with seamanship also recalls the chorus' metaphorical description of Aristophanes' professional activity. In the anapests immediately preceding the ode, the chorus describes the poet's dramatic career in nautical terms. The knights declare:

ἵππιον (*Nu.* 83). Poseidon is addressed as ἀναξ (*Ve.* 143), and as ποντομέδων ἀναξ πατήρ (*Ve.* 1532-33); cf. *Pl.* 1050 ποντοπόσειδον.

¹⁸ For the cult of Poseidon ἵππιος at Colonus and its close relation to the Athenian knights, see Siewert, *Arktouros* 1979. For the altar of Poseidon ἵππιος and Athena ἵππια at Colonus, see Paus. 1.30.4; cf. S., scholia ad *OC* 711; for Athena's patronage of the horse at Athens and elsewhere in Greece, see Yalouris, *MH* 1950.

¹⁹ Pherecrates (*Agrioi*, *PCG* 7, fr. 12) describes the weapon thus: ὁ δὲ δὴ δελφίς ἐστὶ μολιβδοῦς, δελφίνοφόρος τε κεραία, ἡ ὅς διακώπει τοῦδαφος αὐτῶν ἐμπύτων καὶ καταδύων. *Knights* contains the earliest poetic reference to this weapon; it is also mentioned at Thuc. 7. 41.2 (cf. *RE* 4, 2511, s.v. δελφίς).

²⁰ The chorus declares:

μέγιστος Ἑλλήνων ἔσει, καὶ μόνος καθέξεις
τὰν τῇ πόλει τῶν συμμάχων τ' ἄρξεις ἔχων τρίαιναν
ἢ πολλὰ χρήματ' ἐργάσει σείων τε καὶ ταράττων. (838-40)

Aristophanes elsewhere uses the verb σείειν literally to recall Poseidon as "the earth-shaker" and metaphorically to denote political extortion and blackmail (*Pax* 639; *Dae-tales*, *PCG* 3.2, fr. 228); the poet uses the verb ταράττειν metaphorically to mean "agitate/cause political confusion" (*Eq.* 66, 214, 867; *Babylonians*, *PCG* 3.2, frs. 75, 84). For discussion of ταράττειν and its synonyms, particularly κυκᾶν, in *Knights*, see Newiger, *Metapher*, 27-30; Edmunds, *AJP* 1987, *passim*.

Ταῦτ' ὀρρωδῶν διέτριβεν ἀεὶ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισιν ἔφασκεν
 ἐρέτην χρῆναι πρῶτα γενέσθαι πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν,
 κᾶτ' ἐντεῦθεν πρῶρατεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαθρῆσαι,
 κᾶτα κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ. (541-44)

Thus, Poseidon's special affiliations with horses and seamanship unites the interests of the chorus and poet under the god's patronage; Aristophanes is an experienced seaman and the knights themselves compete as young men in chariot races presumably held to honor the god (556-58). The patronage of Poseidon in turn complements that of Athena Polias and Nike in the antode and further strengthens the poet's conspiracy to overthrow the Paphlagonian.²¹

Poseidon does not again figure prominently in the comedy, either in invocations of the chorus or as Athena's counterpart in guarding and defending Athens.²² Athena, however, continues to play an important role in the play, and is invoked by the Paphlagonian in the next passage to be examined, the prayer of the second agon. Having demanded that Demos hold an assembly to determine which of the two contestants is more devoted to him (746-48), the Paphlagonian parodies the traditional opening prayer uttered before the Athenian assembly:²³

Τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ Ἀθηναίῃ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ,
 εὐχομαι, εἰ μὲν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων γεγένημαι
 βέλτιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Λυσικλέα καὶ Κύνναν καὶ Σαλαβακχῷ,
 ὥσπερ νυνὶ μηδὲν δράσας δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖ·
 εἰ δέ σε μισῶ καὶ μὴ περὶ σου μάχομαι μόνος ἀντιβεβηκώς
 ἀπολοίμην καὶ διαπρισθεῖν κατατμηθεῖν τε λέπαδνα.
 (763-68)

The epithets δέσποινα and μεδέουσα play a critical role in the speaker's attempt to portray himself as devoted and humble servant of

²¹ For Poseidon's interests in the success of the navy and hence the interests of the city as a whole, see Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy*, 80 ff.

²² The single appeal for Poseidon's patronage occurs in the ode of the parabasis. All other references to Poseidon occur in oaths (338, 366, 409, 843, 899, 1035, 1201) or in exclamations of surprise (144, 609); cf. Blaszcak, *Götteranrufung*, 27-32.

²³ Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 54-56; Horn, *Gebet und Gebetsparodie*, 44. For other Aristophanic parodies of opening prayers of the Athenian assembly, cf. *Th.* 331-51 and *Ec.* 171-72.

Demos and Athena and great military hero of the city. The honorific δέσποινα reflects the form of address used by Athenians in their prayers to the goddess.²⁴ The earliest attestations of δέσποινα occur in the *Odyssey*, where it is used with Penelope, Arete, and the unnamed wife of Nestor to denote the status of mistress of the house.²⁵ A fragment of Anacreon offers the earliest example of δέσποινα as an epithet with a goddess. In a variation of the Homeric phrase πότνια θηρῶν, Ἰ "Ἄρτεμις (*Il.* 21. 470-71), the speaker addresses Artemis as δέσποιν' Ἰ "Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν (*PMG* 348.3). Tragic heroes and favorites of the goddess frequently address Athena as δέσποινα in dialogue and in prayer; δέσποινα/δεσπότης is also the customary term used by servants when they address the mistress or master of the household.²⁶ In addition to the passage here in *Knights*, Athena is addressed as δέσποινα by Trygaeus in *Peace* (271), and once more by the chorus of old men in *Lysistrata* (317).²⁷

From this survey it is clear that the address to Athena as δέσποινα adds a tone of authenticity to the Paphlagonian's prayer, and so helps to characterize him as a loyal servant of the goddess.²⁸ Moreover, his

²⁴ *Men. Kol.* 23, δέσποιν' Ἀθηνᾶ (concerning which Gomme-Sandbach remark, "This would seem to be a citizen's appeal."); *Sic.* 144, ὦ δέσποιν' Ἀθανᾶ. Δέσποινα is both an honorific address used in dramatic contexts and a term actually used in prayers and in cult situations with certain goddesses, including Athena at Athens (Henrichs, *HSPH* 1976, esp. 261-66).

²⁵ Penelope, 14.9, 127, 451; 15.374, 377; 19.83; 23.2; Arete, 7.53, 347; Nestor's wife, 3.403. Attestations of δέσποινα with other goddesses are collected by Henrichs, *HSPH* 1976, esp. nn. 17-23.

²⁶ *S. Ai.* 38 (Odysseus), 105 (Ajax), *E. Suppl.* 1227 (Theseus); the hero also seems customarily to call Athena δέσποινα in satyr plays, *E. Cyc.* 350 [Odysseus], *Rh.* 608 (Odysseus). For δέσποινα ἢ δεσπότης as the form of address used by a servant to the mistress/master and by a worshipper to the deity, respectively, cf. *Ar. Ra.* 1 and *E. Hipp.* 89 (with Barrett's note).

²⁷ Trygaeus addresses the goddess as πότνια δέσποιν' Ἀθηναία. The old men of *Lysistrata* invoke her as δέσποινα Νίκη. The honorific title πότνια is well attested in dedications (metrical) to the goddess on the Acropolis, *CEG* 1, 189 (*IG* 1³.607, pedestal of column dedication, ca. 530-520?), 197 (*IG* 1³.619, column dedication, ca. 510?), 235 (*IG* 1³.718, column dedication, ca. 500-480?), 268 (*IG* 1³.832, column dedication, ca. 480-70?), 275 (*IG* 1³.872, fragment of marble disk, ca. 450?); cf. *DAA* 123. Elsewhere in Aristophanes, Athena is addressed as πότνια by Demos (*Eq.* 1170) and as πότνια Παλλάς by Blepyrus (*Ec.* 476).

²⁸ Neil, *Knights*, ad loc., argues that the Ionic form Ἀθηναίη "marks an old ritual formula, like μεδέουσα," since it is unknown to Attic. But see *DAA*, nos. 29

address to the goddess as δέσποινα may be recalled when he later calls Demos δέσποτης (ὦ δέσποτ', ἀντιβόλῳ σ' ἐγώ, 960). The implication is that he serves Athena, mistress of the city, and Demos, master of the household, with equal humility and devotion.

The Paphlagonian's attempt to establish a special affinity with Athena can be seen clearly in the second title of the prayer, τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα.²⁹ This title recalls the knights' earlier address to the goddess as μεδέουσα χώρας (585), and indicates that he also seeks the support and patronage of Athena Polias. Commentators have often noted that the title τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα of this prayer reflects the title Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα that was used to designate the cult of Athena Polias as viewed from outside of Athens by her subject allies.³⁰ Evidence for a common cult of Athena under this title is provided by boundary stones from her precinct on Samos and a boundary marker from the precinct of Athena on Cos, both dated to the mid-fifth century,³¹ as well as by a fragmentary treaty (?) between Athens and Colophon dated to 447/46 and an honorific inscription from Carpathus, whose date is controversial.³² The cult of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα is argued to have come into existence after the formation of the Delian League, and to reflect Athenian efforts to

and 119 for two honorary inscriptions (both prose) which contain the Ionic form -αῖη in an otherwise Attic text (Dover, *Clouds*, 614).

²⁹ The following discussion of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα and the Themistocles decree summarizes the arguments of Anderson, *AJP* 1989.

³⁰ The title Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα is argued to have become associated with the cult of Athena Polias as the Athenians fostered the spread of this cult among the subject allies after the Persian wars. See Barron, *JHS* 1964, 35-48, for a survey of the scholarship.

³¹ Samos: ἡρό[ος τεμέ]νος | Ἀ]θηναίας | Αθηνὸν | μεδεόσες (Heraion Inv. no. 225, unpublished), *SEG* 1, 375-76, and most recently, *SEG* 32, 835. Cos: ἡρόος τεμ[ένος] Ἀθηνιάς | Ἀθηνῶν | μεδεόσης (Paton-Hicks, *Inscrip. Cos*, 160 no. 148; Hill, *Sources*, p. 319).

³² Colophon: *SEG* 10.17; *JG* 1².14 | 15. The reading ὅν μεδεόσ[ες] at line 14 is very convincing in light of the parallels from Samos and Cos; for discussion, see ML 47, line 14. Carpathus: *SIG*³ 1.129 (*GHI* 2, 110); Tod dates the Eteocarthian decree to the early fourth century "on the grounds of script, spelling, formulae, and historical content" (p. 30). But examination of a recently rediscovered squeeze-impression of *SIG*³ 1.129 has caused some scholars to redate the decree to the fifth century, ca. 445-430; (cf. D. Lewis in Carridice, *Coinage and Administration*, 58; Hornblower-Greenstock, *Athenian Empire*, 116-17; Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, 60 n. 63); the redating of the decree depends entirely on the interpretation of letter-forms.

establish a cult of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα as a foreign equivalent of the state cult of Athena Polias.

The last mentioned inscription, a copy of an Athenian decree honoring the Eteocarpathians, provides additional evidence for the existence of an Athenian state cult of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα as a foreign equivalent of the state cult of Athena Polias at Athens. The inscription, which concerns military operations, commends the *koinon* of the Eteocarpathians because they sent a cypress beam, felled at their temple of Apollo (36), to the temple of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα in Athens.³³ The relevant part of the decree reads as follows: ὅτι ἔδοσα[ν | τὴν κυ-
πάρυ]τον ἐπὶ τὸν νε[ῶν τῆς Ἀθηναί]ας τῆς Ἀθηνῶν μι[εδεούσης,
(8-10). The identity of the specific temple mentioned in this inscription has been disputed, but there is general agreement that the cypress beam must have been destined for a major temple on the Acropolis rather than for some other as yet unknown temple of Athena.³⁴ Whether this temple is the Erechtheum, as some argue, or the Parthenon, as others maintain, the identification of the goddess with the Acropolis and so with the patronage of Athens is certain.³⁵

³³ Cypress wood was used especially in the construction of temple doors and roofs (Hodge, *Greek Roofs*, 124). For timber as a formal gift of gratitude and friendship between States, see Hermann, *Ritualized Friendship*, 82-88.

³⁴ The inscription concerns formal state procedures, and so the gift must be destined for a major temple rather than any other unknown temple of Athena. The beam is cut at the precinct of Apollo, the patron deity of the Eteocarpathians, where a copy of the inscription is to stand (34-38). The beam is sent, in turn, to the major temple of the Eteocarpathians' benefactors, the Athenians, on whose Acropolis the original inscription stood (38-41). The decree also stipulates: (a) the removal of Athenian troops and forces from the acropolis of the town (18-29); (b) the obligation of the Coians, Cnidians, Rhodians, and other capable allies to supply whatever the Eteocarpathians need (23-44); and (c) the confirmation of *autonomia* for the Eteocarpathians as members of the *symmachia* (1-12). Apparently there had been political difficulty on Carpathus. The Eteocarpathians were involved and their *koinon* was given higher political status within the alliance. The island of Carpathus would be of strategic and material value to the Athenians as the sites of the *koinon* commanded major sea and land routes, and the island itself enjoyed a flourishing timber trade (Simpson-Lazenby, *BSA* 1962, 165, with *BSA* 1970, 69).

³⁵ The conventional date for the beginning of construction on the Erechtheum is just after the Peace of Nicias in 421 B.C.; hence some commentators connect the gift of cypress-wood specifically to the repair of the Erechtheum which itself apparently suffered fire damage in 406 B.C., and so prefer to date the inscription to the early fourth century (Barron, *JHS* 1964, esp. 41-43). But recent excavations indicate that construction began on the Erechtheum as early as 431 B.C., moving the cypress gift

That the Paphlagonian-Cleon (or the audience) is thinking primarily of a foreign cult of Athena Polias, however, is highly improbable. Rather he uses the title because of its historic and patriotic associations with the Athenian naval commander Themistocles. Evidence that the title Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα existed at Athens during this time is based on the well-known Themistocles decree, which commemorates Themistocles' order at the time of the Persian invasion to evacuate the Athenians to Salamis and Troezen and to entrust the city to the care of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα and all the other gods.³⁶ The existing text of this document dates from a copy made in the fourth or early third century B.C.³⁷ There is broad agreement that this inscription preserves a historical kernel of the original decree, but scholarly opinion about the authenticity of the title Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα has been divided.³⁸ According to one view, the phrase Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα could not have figured in the original decree, since the cult of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα only came into existence after the Persian wars. Accordingly, it is argued, the title in the Themistocles decree itself is anachronistic and should be understood as a late addition to the text.³⁹

to a correspondingly early date (Touchais, *BCH* 1988). The Parthenon's construction, on the other hand, was begun in 447 B.C. and was essentially completed by the time of the statue's dedication in 438/7 (ML 54; *IG* 1².335, 355a+), which suggests that the cypress beam would have been destined for the Parthenon, and so must be dated to the early 430's (Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 201, 498 n. 36).

³⁶ I quote ML 23, which is based largely on Jameson's revised text (*Hesperia* 1962). The restoration of μεδέουσα is widely accepted, and is the only known epithet that could fit the formula in the inscription:

Θεμισ[τοκλ]ῆς Νεοκλέους Φρεάρριος εἶπεν·
τῇ[μ] μὲν πό[λιν] παρ]ακατ[αθέ]σθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνῶ
μ [μεδεο]ύ[σῃ] κ[αὶ] τοῖς ἄλλ[οις] θεοῖς ἅπασι ν φυλάττει
ν κα[ὶ] ἀμ[ύ]νειν τὸ μ βα[ρ] βαρ[ο]ν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας· (3-6)

³⁷ Proposed dates for the copy of the Decree range from the late fourth century B.C. (Jameson, *Hesperia* 1962) through the first quarter of the third century (Lewis, *CQ* 1961) to the mid-third century B.C. (Robertson, *Phoenix* 1982). Demosthenes (19.303, dated to 348 B.C.) refers to Aeschines as reciting "the Decree of Themistocles" (καὶ [τὸ] Θεμιστοκλέους ψήφισμ' ἀναγιγνώσκων), which would presumably be a version of the Decree in question.

³⁸ For discussion of the historical value of the inscription with references, see ML 23, pp. 50-53; Podlecki, *Life of Themistocles*, 147-67; contra, Habicht, *Hermes* 1961, who regards the entire decree as a fourth-century forgery.

³⁹ For a survey of scholarly objections, none of which are compelling, to the authenticity of the epithet μεδέουσα in the Decree, see Barron, *JHS* 1964, 42-43.

Although it seems unlikely that a cult of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα existed at the time when the Themistocles decree was issued, this does not mean in and of itself that the phrase has to be regarded as a later addition to the text. Rather, the use of the epithet μεδέουσα derives from its traditional application to deities protecting certain localities.⁴⁰ Given the wide currency of this title in poetry, an appeal to Athena as Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα is thus entirely fitting in the context of the evacuation of the city. Themistocles' use of the phrase should be recognized as a rhetorical device; it seeks to persuade the Athenians to leave their city, since Athens is entrusted to the hands of Athena its tutelary goddess, Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα.

The Paphlagonian's invocation to Athena as τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα, then, is part of a sequence of allusions and references to Themistocles in the play. His claims to be a new and even better Themistocles range from boasts that he has done more for Athens than Themistocles ever did (810-12) to the appropriation of oracular imagery connected specifically with Themistocles' successful interpretation of the Delphic oracle concerning Athens' "wooden walls" (1037-40).⁴¹ The Sausage-seller, however, easily surpasses his rival in Themistoclean qualities in the view of Demos, and is shown to possess, like the national hero himself, legendary cleverness and ingenuity.⁴² It is appropriate that the

⁴⁰ LSJ s.v. μεδέων/μεδέουσα. In addition to the occurrences with Athena and Poseidon in *Knights*, the title appears in Lysistrata's invocation to Aphrodite: ὦ πότνια Κύπρου καὶ Κυθέρων καὶ Πάφου | μεδέουσ' ἵθ' ὀρθὴν ἤνπερ ἔρχει τὴν ὁδόν (*Lys.* 833-34).

⁴¹ The Paphlagonian declares:

Ἔστι γυνή, τέξει δὲ λέονθ' ἱεραῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις,
ὅς περὶ τοῦ δήμου πολλοῖς κώνωσι μαχεῖται
ὥς τε περὶ σκύμνοισι βεβηκώς· τὸν σὺ φυλάξαι,
τεῖχος ποιήσας ξύλινον πύργους τε σιδηροῦς. (1037-40)

For the well-known oracle concerning the birth of a lion at Athens (i.e. Pericles) and the "wooden walls" at Athens, see Hdt. 6.131.2 and Hdt. 7.141.1-3, respectively. The Paphlagonian seems even to assume (temporarily) Themistocles' ingenuity and skill as naval commander (cf. 758-59); and the chorus characterizes the contest between the antagonists as a sea battle, the outcome of which will depend (as it had at Salamis) on the resourcefulness of the commander (761-62).

⁴² Demos judges the Sausage-seller to have surpassed the national hero Themistocles in cleverness when he receives the gift of a protective cloak from him (881-83); Demos remarks that, although the idea of the Piraeus was clever (i.e. Themistocles' building of the Long Walls to connect the harbor and the city, cf. *Schol. Ar.*,

Sausage-seller should assume the character of Themistocles (see below), since just as the intelligence and foresight of the national hero had saved the Athenians in the Persian wars, so the Sausage-seller's skills will enable him to become savior (σωτήρ) of Demos and the city in the struggle against the Paphlagonian-Cleon.⁴³

The Paphlagonian's invocation to Athena as δέσποινα and τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα works on two levels. The high style and tone of μεδέουσα, the shamelessness of his request to be dined at public expense at the Prytaneum (764-66), his address to Athena as δέσποινα, whose servant and favored hero the Paphlagonian thinks he is, along with the absurd proposal that he should be cut up into leather straps if he does not love Demos, all contribute to the immediate humor of the prayer.⁴⁴ In the context of the play, on the other hand, his invocation to Athena as τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα should be seen as part of a sequence of references and allusions to Themistocles, the most striking of which is the recollection of the Themistocles decree. The effect of all these references and allusions is to debunk the Paphlagonian's claim to such a heritage.

Athena's epithets come fully into play in the final passage to be examined, the food-serving contest (1151-1263), where the contestants claim Athena to be the source of the various offerings they bring to Demos. The war-mongering Paphlagonian connects his gifts of food to a bizarre and idiosyncratic goddess of terror and war. He attributes the source of his foods to Athena πυλαιμάχος (1172), φοβεσιστράτη

ad 886), Themistocles never thought of anything as clever as the cloak: Τοιουτοῖ θεμιστοκλῆς οὐπώποτ' ἐπενόησεν (884); cf. the Coryphaeus' question to the victorious Sausage-seller: καὶ ποῦ 'στιν νῦν, ὃ θαυμαστάς ἐξευρίσκων ἐπινοίας; (1322). For Themistocles and Cleon in *Knights*, see Anderson, *AJP* 1989.

⁴³ The address to the Sausage-seller as σωτήρ of the city (147-49, 457-60) parodies the greeting customarily given to revealed gods and heroes (Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 79, note 1; Landfester, *Die Ritter*, 36-37). For σωτήρ as a political term, see Habicht, *Goitmenschentum*, 156. The Paphlagonian connects the salvation of the city with his own preservation by interpreting his oracle about the "birth of the lion and the wooden walls" to mean he himself should be protected by Demos: ἔπραξεν ὁ θεός σοι σαφῶς σῶζειν ἐμέ...(1042-47, cf. 1017).

⁴⁴ Cleon was entitled to *sitiesis* in the Prytaneum by virtue of his outstanding military service at Pylos in 425 B.C. (*IG* 1³.131 with Mattingly, *ZPE* 1990, 114-15). For Aristophanes' treatment of Cleon as leather worker in *Knights*, see Lind, *Der Gerber Kleon*, *passim*.

(1177) and γοργολόφα (1181), and he regards them as part of the spoils from his military campaign at Pylos. The Sausage-seller's Athena, on the other hand, mirrors the deity of the antode; his Athena is ὀμβριμopάτρα (1178), τριτογενής (1189) or simply ἡ θεός (1185), and the foods that he associates with her are substantial and sometimes even rare delicacies. In a scene outside of the competition, Demos addresses the goddess as πότνια (1170). The particular aspects of Athena to which the antagonists appeal in this contest reveal their contrasting assumptions about Athena's true nature, and by extension about the nature of her city. Although the struggle for possession of Demos' steward ring has faded into the background (946-48), the prize at stake is who will have the right to wear it, and thus have authority to conduct financial and domestic affairs on behalf of Demos.⁴⁵

The Paphlagonian first offers his master a small cake of barley-meal, οὐλαί, that is, the grain that is sprinkled over the head of the victim as a preliminary to its sacrifice.⁴⁶ But unlike the other food offerings, he does not associate the barley-cake directly with Athena. Rather, he announces to Demos that the cake has been kneaded out of the οὐλαί from Pylos.

Ἴδου φέρω σοι τήνδε μαζίσκην ἐγὼ
ἐκ τῶν ὀλῶν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου μεμαγμένην. (1166-67)

The Pylian origin of the cake calls to mind the Athenians' recent victory over the Spartans at Pylos. The Paphlagonian's claim to special status and consideration in the house of Demos rests on this stunning military success, and he himself refers to Pylos on seven occasions.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The seal of the steward's ring which Demos had given to the Paphlagonian depicted beef fat wrapped in a fig leaf (954). But when Demos demands the Paphlagonian return this ring (947), the latter attempts to return the signet ring of the infamous comic glutton, Cleonymus, whose seal consists of a sea gull (λάρος) sitting on a rock (i.e. the Pnyx, cf. 754), gaping, and delivering a speech to the Assembly (956). This new seal represents a unique conception of Demos on the part of the Paphlagonian. Just as he himself is gluttonous, so he imagines Demos to be the same (cf. 1171 below). For the sea gull (λάρος) as a stock symbol of gluttony, cf. *Ar. Nu.* 591 (of Cleon), *Av.* 567; *Matro, SH* 534, 10-11.

⁴⁶ *Od.* 3.441; *Hdt.* 1.132.1; *Ar. Pax* 948, 960; cf. Stengel, *Opfergebräuche*, 13-33.

⁴⁷ The Paphlagonian refers to Pylos at 355, 702, 742, 846, 1005, 1058-59, 1167; Pylos is also mentioned twice by the Slave in the prologue (55, 76), and once by the triumphant Sausage-seller (1201). For Aristophanes' ridicule of Cleon's claim

By offering a Pylian barley-cake, he obviously aims to raise Demos' expectation for what customarily follows the sacrifice, a serving of meat. But the effect of presenting the barley-cake is rather to imply that the donor has committed impiety at Pylos and falsely claimed credit for the Athenian victory there. Indeed, mere possession of the cake implies that the Paphlagonian has lifted the offering from the sacrificial altar at Pylos, i.e., that he stole the barley-cake and so committed sacrilege (ἱεροσυλία) against the gods. Moreover, the presentation of sacrificial cake "kneaded at Pylos" recalls the charge the Slave had made in the prologue. In that passage the Slave, who can be seen momentarily at least as representing the general Demosthenes, complains that the Paphlagonian stole the "Laconian cake" which he himself had "kneaded at Pylos" and then served it to Demos as his own:⁴⁸

Καὶ πρῶην γ' ἐμοῦ
μᾶζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικήν,
πανουργότατά πως παραδραμὼν ὑφαρπάσας
αὐτὸς παρέθηκε τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεμαγμένην. (54-57)

The attentive spectator will recall this single other mention of sacrificial cake kneaded at Pylos in the comedy, and will recognize not only that the Paphlagonian-Cleon has stolen the sacrificial meal from the gods at Pylos, but also has falsely claimed credit for the Athenian victory there, as symbolized by the barley-cake, which properly belongs to the Slave.

The Paphlagonian next tries to arouse his master's appetite with a serving of pea soup, ἔτνος, that, according to him, Athena herself prepared. As he offers Demos the ἔτνος, a stock favorite of gluttons,⁴⁹ he announces that Παλλὰς πυλαιμάχος herself stirred it:

Ἐγὼ δ' ἔτνος γε πίσινον εὔχρων καὶ καλόν·
ἐτόρυνε δ' αὐτὴ Παλλὰς ἡ Πυλαιμάχος. (1171-72)

to victory at Pylos elsewhere in *Knights*, see Grossmann, *Politische Schlagwörter*, 112-14.

⁴⁸ Neither of the Slaves in the prologue is mentioned by name, but in this passage at least the speaker can be seen to represent the Athenian general Demosthenes, who served at the siege of Pylos before the arrival of Cleon (Thuc. 4.2-3), and whom Cleon's enemies regarded as truly responsible for the Athenian victory there. The second Slave is commonly identified with the general Nicias, who likewise had played an important role in the defeat of the Spartans at Pylos (Thuc. 4.27-8).

⁴⁹ This dish is a special favorite of the gluttonous Heracles, *Ra.* 62-63.

Characterization of the pea soup as εὔχρων and καλόν continues the sacrifice joke. The suggestion is that the good color and appearance of the soup, εὔχρων καὶ καλόν, like the good color and appearance of sacrificial blood, should be interpreted as a favorable omen and sign of divine goodwill.⁵⁰ The Paphlagonian's claim that Παλλὰς πυλαιμάχος stirred his pea soup is obviously made for the sake of the geographical pun on Pylos. For him, at least, Παλλὰς πυλαιμάχος is the deity that "Fights at Pylos" on his behalf. But the epithet πυλαιμάχος, which normally means "Fighter at the gate," will have traditional associations for the audience as well. This rare title is attested with Ares in a fragment of Steisichorus: αὐτόν σε πυλαμάχε πρῶτον (*PMGF* 242). Although the title is not linked explicitly to the war-god in the fragment, the identification is supported by τειχεσιπλήτης ("Stormer at the walls"), an epithet of Ares that is an analogue to πυλαιμάχος.⁵¹ The martial and epic flavor of πυλαιμάχος is also evident in a fragment of Callimachus. In this fragment, which represents the one other attestation of πυλαιμάχος with the goddess, Athena is invoked as φαλαρῆτις and πυλαιμάχος: Ἰλαθί μοι φαλαρῆτις, πυλαίμαχε (638 Pf.).⁵² The epithet πυλαιμάχος normally evokes an image of a war-goddess fighting at the gates of a city.⁵³ The Paphlagonian-Cleon, however, renders the traditional image absurd by turning Athena πυλαιμάχος into a soup-stirrer, a task which she presumably performs by using her finger as a stirring-spoon.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ For the use of these terms to indicate favorable signs and omens, see Casabona, *Vocabulaire des sacrifices*, 317-21. At *Lysistrata* 205, Calonice interprets the good color, εὔχρων, of the "blood" of the sacrificial "victim" as a sign of divine goodwill.

⁵¹ Scholia A Hom. *Il.* 5.31, i 199 Di (2.7 Erbse). τειχεσιπλήτα· ἐστὶν ἐπίθετον ἀνάλογον τῷ παρὰ Σησιχόρῳ πυλαιμάχῳ. Ares is called τειχεσιπλήτης at *Il.* 5.33, 455; cf. Kock, *Eq.*, ad loc.

⁵² Πυλαιμάχος is identified with Athena on the basis of the epithet here in *Knights* and the name φαλαρῆτις which refers to the bosses of her helmet. See Pfeiffer, ad loc.

⁵³ We might recall here the image of Athena πυλαίτις, "Keeper of the gate," which according to the Scholiast was customarily painted on the outer walls of cities to frighten the approaching enemy (Lycophron, 356 [Tzet.]).

⁵⁴ The verb τρυβνεῖν recalls the only explicit reference to Cleon, whose political activities are associated with the stirring spoon, τρυβνή (981-84). The use of these words, each of which occurs once in the comedy, suggests the Paphlagonian-

The Paphlagonian keeps the focus on war and violence when he punningly attributes the next food, a slice of fish, τέμαχος, to Athena φοβεσιστράτη ("Router of armies"). He declares to Demos:

Τουτὶ τέμαχος σοῦδωκεν ἡ φοβεσιστράτη. (1177)

Aristophanes appears to have coined the title φοβεσιστράτη especially for this occasion. The epithet is connected to the awesome power of Athena's aegis, which Hesiod describes as her instrument of terror on the battlefield (αἰγίδα φοβέστροφον, fr. 343.18 M-W). Athena customarily wields the aegis, which was bordered by tassels or snakes and fastened by a *gorgoneion*, to incite panic and terror in the ranks of the enemy.⁵⁵ Presumably, the Paphlagonian would have Demos believe that Athena φοβεσιστράτη routed the Spartan force at Pylos with her aegis and so acquired the slice of fish from the food recovered in the enemy camp.⁵⁶ The notion is of course absurd, and undercuts the donor's position by equating the spoils of victory at Pylos with just an ordinary fish meal which, like the cakes from Pylos, is also stolen (282-83). In addition, the focus on Athena's military aspect provides a context for a pun on τέμνω ("cut, wound") and τέμαχος ("fish-slice"). The only cutting (τέμαχος) done by Athena, it is suggested, was done to a fish. Here again the association of the goddess with the offering of food reduces her majesty; Athena has gone from a soup-stirrer to a slicer of fish.⁵⁷

The fearsome and idiosyncratic goddess of the Paphlagonian appears for the last time in the contest under the title γοργολόφα. He announces that Athena, "the Gorgon-plumed," orders (as if a strategos) Demos to eat the "flat cake," ἐλατήρ, so that they can row well for the navy:

Ἡ γοργολόφα σ' ἐκέλευε τουτουὶ φαγεῖν
ἐλατήρος, ἵνα τὰς ναῦς ἐλαύνωμεν καλῶς. (1181-82)

Cleon, a metaphorical stirrer of the political soup, ζωμός (359-60, cf. *Pax* 265), is Athena's stirring-finger as well.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Il.* 5.733-42 (Athena puts on the aegis); *Od.* 22.297-301 (Athena routs the suitors); *Il.* 15.229-30, 318-37 (Apollo routs the Greek army with the aegis).

⁵⁶ For possible metaphorical associations of fish with the portrayal of the Paphlagonian-Cleon's voracity in *Knights*, see Davidson, *CQ* 1993, esp. 57-59.

⁵⁷ Τέμαχος might also suggest a martial pun, as if the word were a compound based on -μάχος (parallel to πυλαμάχος).

Γοργολόφα, like φοβεσιστράτη, is not a traditional epithet, but rather an ad hoc comical formation (note the implied pun between Γοργώ/γοργός), which plays on the fierce-looking crest of Athena's helmet.⁵⁸ The plumes of the helmet, waving dreadfully in the air, here replace the shield and Gorgo as the goddess's newest instrument of terror. Furthermore, the Paphlagonian's γοργολόφα, who herself is presented as a fearsome warrior, recalls Aristophanes' characterization of the Athenian general Lamachus as he was portrayed the previous year in *Acharnians*. Here, in what was an obviously successful joke, Lamachus is called γοργολόφας, the single other attestation of the title, and the Gorgon emblem itself as well as the plumes on his helmet symbolize his excessive bellicosity (566-68).⁵⁹ The implication is that the donor of the flat-cake is likewise a confirmed warmonger; at the same time, γοργολόφα represents yet another of his war epithets that is absurdly out of place and disproportional to the food presented to Demos. In addition, the gift of a flat cake allows for a pun on the ἐλατήρ, in its sense of "rower," and ἐλαύνειν, "to row." The notion is that Demos and the Paphlagonian can together perform well at rowing the fleet by consuming "rower-cake." By linking himself and Athena to the navy and the naval war, the Paphlagonian here plays to the political sympathies of Demos. As an oarsman he can suppose that Demos will regard him as a loyal patriot and fellow democrat.

Unlike the goddess of his rival, the Sausage-seller's Athena is immediately recognizable and familiar. Indeed, he attributes his first food offering, μυστίλαι, to the hand of her chryselephantine statue, that is, to

⁵⁸ For similar ad hoc formations with Gorgo, see Parca, *Odysseus in Disguise*, 32-33. For additional Aristophanic jokes on λόφος as a military term, see Koenen's comments concerning Av. 279, 287 (*Studien zur Textgeschichte*, 85-87). Merkelbach's typographical correction of the text does not alter Koenen's interpretation of the passage (*Kritische Beiträge*, 40). The knights' chorus also exhorts the Sausage-seller to devour his rival's plumes: τοὺς λόφους κατεσθίειν (496).

⁵⁹ The semi-chorus of *Acharnians* sings:

ἰὼ Λάμαχ', ὃ βλέπων ἀστραπάς,
βοήθησον, ὃ γοργολόφα, φανείς,
ἰὼ Λάμαχ', ὃ φίλ', ὃ φυλέτα· (566-68)

The Gorgon emblem of Lamachus is mentioned six times (575, 964, 1095, 1124, 1131, 1181); the plumes on his helmet seven times (575, 587, 965, 967, 1074, 1109, 1111).

the hand of Athena Parthenos. Μυστίλαι are bread-like pastries, hollowed out in the middle and used to soak up soup, especially ζωμός, a meat-based broth which was commonly served at festivals (1174, 1178).⁶⁰ The Sausage-seller tells Demos:⁶¹

Ἐγὼ δὲ μυστίλας μεμυστιλημένας
ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τῇ χειρὶ τήλεφαντίνῃ. (1168-69)

The pastries themselves must be absurdly oversized, since they have been molded by the chryselephantine hand of the Parthenos statue. This famous work was over six times life size, and held in its open right hand a likeness of Nike that itself was nearly six feet tall.⁶² In addition to the absurd visual joke, there are underlying political features to consider. The Parthenon statue, together with the temple in which it stood, is part of the Acropolis building program undertaken by Pericles, and it symbolizes the physical transformation of Athens into a imperial city.⁶³ Thus the Sausage-seller's offering, μυστίλαι fashioned by Athena's chryselephantine hand, draws attention not to military aspects of the goddess outside of Athens, but to the wealth and material benefits she provides the Athenians at home.⁶⁴

The reaction of Demos to the μυστίλαι deserves special comment. Addressing Athena (outside the competition) as πότνια he declares: ὥς

⁶⁰ Cf. Pherecr. *Metalles*, PCG 7, fr. 113, 5; the verb, μυστιάομαι, is used of old men feasting at the festival of Theseus (Ar. *Pl.* 627) and of sopping up fish-based ζωμός (Luc. *Lex.* 5). The verb is used metaphorically to describe the Paphlagonian's voracious "sopping up" of public funds (826-27): κάμφοιν χειροῖν μυστιλάται τῶν δημοσίων (cf. Kock, *Eq.*, ad loc.).

⁶¹ The Sausage-seller 1) copies the Paphlagonian's "μ" schema (μαζίσκην... μεμαγμένην, 1166-67; cf. Archil. fr. 2W: μᾶζα... μεμαγμένην) topping it with his own (μυστίλας μεμυστιλημένας, 1168); and 2) uses a similar prepositional arrangement, but with ὑπό (1168) instead of ἐκ (1166).

⁶² Paus. 1.24, 5-7, Pliny, *Nat.* 36.18.

⁶³ The widely held view that allied tribute was the chief funding source for the Parthenon has been called into question; it seems more likely that the major funding source was the treasury of Athena, which received revenues from a wide range of sources (cf. *IG* 1³.436-41). See Kallet-Marx, *CIAnt* 1989, and Giovannini, writing independently, *Historia* 1990. This argument does not refute the view that the Parthenon is a monument of Athenian imperialism, but strongly suggests that financing of the project by allied tribute cannot be used as an argument in its favor.

⁶⁴ Presumably the oversized μυστίλαι are representative of the great wealth that was housed in Athena's treasury on the Acropolis (*IG* 1².91/92).

μέγαν ἄρ' εἶχες, ὃ πότνια, τὸν δάκτυλον (1170). Πότνια is an ancient title of honor and respect reserved for mortal mistresses of the house and for certain goddesses.⁶⁵ The title's effect is to add a tone of reverence to Demos' response, which is immediately undercut by the visual image of Athena's enormous ivory finger and the large depression that it has made in the μυστίλαι.⁶⁶ Tentatively we might go a step farther. Athena's δάκτυλον in the pastry may suggest a sexual joke based on the resemblance of certain kinds of pastries (μυστίλαι) to the female pudenda.⁶⁷ Athena's ivory finger in the pastry would indicate the great size of the Maiden's vagina. Moreover, it might imply that Athena is a Parthenos who stimulates herself with a big finger. If this is so, Athena would then replace Ares as πυλαιμάχος (1172), i.e., "Pylos" = gate = vagina.⁶⁸ Athena's vagina soaking up the metaphorical ζωμός of the allies (i.e., the tribute of the allies, cf. 357, 360) is of course greater and better for Demos than the stolen sacrifice/victory from Pylos.

Having offered Demos the μυστίλαι, the Sausage-seller next holds out a pot full of ζωμός. Athena is mentioned without elaboration; she is simply the goddess (ἡ θεός), that is, Athena Polias. She resides and keeps watch (ἐπισκοπεῖ) from the Acropolis, and manifests her favor by providing Demos with abundant and substantial food-offerings. The "savior" of the city tells his master:

ὦ Δῆμ', ἐναργῶς ἡ θεός σ' ἐπισκοπεῖ.
καὶ νῦν ὑπερέχει σου χύτραν ζωμοῦ πλέαν. (1173-74)

These lines represent a variation of a famous political elegy of Solon (4W):

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται

⁶⁵ Cf. LSJ s.v. πότνια. For the title in dedications to Athena on the Acropolis (all metrical), see above, n. 27.

⁶⁶ Ἄρα here indicates that Demos is genuinely surprised by the huge size of Athena's finger (KG ii.2, 320, 6); the predicate position of μέγαν also stresses that the depression was made by a large finger (Denniston, 37).

⁶⁷ For comic exploitation of the resemblance of certain pastries to the female pudenda (e.g., ἐλατήρ, μᾶζα, μυστίλη, πλακοῦς, πότανα), see Henderson, *Maculate Muse*, 144.

⁶⁸ For the sexual metaphor, see *SRFGP*, line 14, pp. 38-39. Henderson, *Maculate Muse* 114, no longer argues for a possible sexual joke based on δάκτυλος as a double entendre for phallus in these lines of *Knights*.

αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
τοίη γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει· (1-4)

The Sausage-seller substitutes for Solon's word χεῖρας a culinary phrase χύτραν ζωμοῦ πλέαν, and so comically transforms Athena the tutelary goddess of the city into the supervisor, ἐπίσκοπος, of Demos' diet.⁶⁹ Moreover, the Sausage-seller's goddess is represented as extending not the sheltering hands (χεῖρας) of Solon's poem, but rather a cooking pot (χύτραν) full of ζωμός so as to protect Demos.⁷⁰ In the elegy the protection that comes from the hands of Athena is directed against unscrupulous and greedy political leaders, and we might likewise suppose that the benefit that comes from the pot full of soup is protection from greedy and unscrupulous leaders like Cleon. These remarks seem also to allude to the financial benefits of empire. Elsewhere in the play, the poet uses ζωμός metaphorically to denote contributions of the subject allies. Thus we can understand Athena's hearty ζωμός as a pun on plundering the allied states. This interpretation helps to explain Demos' response to the serving. He clearly acknowledges the political implications of Athena's ζωμός (i.e. Athens without the League) when he asks the Sausage-seller rhetorically:⁷¹

Οἶε γὰρ οἰκεῖσθ' ἂν ἔτι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν,
εἰ μὴ φανερώς ἡμῶν ὑπερεῖχε τὴν χύτραν; (1175-76)

The Athena of Solon's elegy retains her prominence into the next round of the contest. Responding to the Paphlagonian's pun on τέμαχος, which is properly used to denote a slice of fish (1177), the comic hero

⁶⁹ Solon's elegy provides the earliest example in Attic poetry of ἐπίσκοπος with a protecting deity. For ἐπισκοπεῖν with other divinities in Athenian drama, cf. *S. Ant.* 1148 (Bacchus), *E. IT* 1414 (Poseidon).

⁷⁰ The image of a deity extending a protecting hand over a favorite is common from Homer onwards (*Il.* 4.249 [Zeus]; 5.433 [Apollo]; 9.420 [Zeus], 687 [Zeus]; 24.374 [τὶς θεῶν]; *Od.* 14.184 [Zeus]; cf. *Theognis* 757-60 [Zeus and the other gods]).

⁷¹ Whether Demos recognizes the allusion to the elegy or not, his response suggests an awareness of and appreciation for the political implications of the absence of Athena's protecting hand. Indeed, this response seems to be confirmed by his reaction to the Sausage-seller's gift of ζωμός (see below, n. 76).

offers Demos meats boiled in the pot of ζωμός and a cutting, τόμος, (the *vox propria* for a meat-slice) of tripe from Athena ὀβριμοπάτρα.⁷²

Ἡ δ' ὀβριμοπάτρα γ' ἐφθὸν ἐκ ζωμοῦ κρέας
καὶ χόλικος ἡνύστρου τε καὶ γαστρὸς τόμον. (1178-79)

Ὀβριμοπάτρα, "Daughter of a mighty father," is a well-attested epithet of Athena in epic that is related to the story of her birth, fully-armed, from the head of Zeus.⁷³ Ὀβριμοπάτρα here recalls the epithet of Solon's poem, and so draws our attention to the intimate bond between Athena, as defender of the city, and the great might and power of her father, whose decree ensures that the city will never perish (vv. 1-2).⁷⁴ Athena's food offerings will have for the Athenians immediately familiar associations as well. Meats, tripe and gut are standard fare at civic festivals, especially the celebration of Athena's birthday, the Panathenaea.⁷⁵ On the political level, therefore, these servings are emblematic of Athena's protection from the Cleons of the city; the immediate joke seems to be that ὀβριμοπάτρα is needed to provide a solid meal.⁷⁶

His rival's pun on flat-cake and rowing gives rise to the Sausage-seller's own verbal play concerning the navy. He offers his master a serving of intestines, ἔντερα, sent by Athena, ἡ θεός, for use in the triremes. The ἔντερα reflect of course the Sausage-seller's trade and are the one food that is unfamiliar to Demos. Customarily welcoming all gifts, the stunned recipient asks the server: καὶ τί τούτοις χρήσομαι!

⁷² AB 65: τεμάχη μόνον ἐπὶ ἰχθύων, τόμους δὲ ἐπὶ κρεῶν.

⁷³ Ὀβριμοπάτρα occurs in Homer at *Il.* 5.747; 8.391; *Od.* 1.101; 3.135; 24.540; Hesiod, *Th.* 587; for additional examples see Bruchmann, *Epitheta* (whose list is not comprehensive) s.v. Ἀθηνᾶ. On ancient myelo-encephalogenetic theory, which holds that the seed of life originates in the brain and/or spinal marrow, see Lesky, *Vererbungslehren*, 9-30; Leitao, *Measure of Youth*, 32-39.

⁷⁴ On Athena and Zeus serving together as tutelary deities of Athens, see Herington, *Athena*, 56 ff.

⁷⁵ Meats, sausage, tripe and ζωμός were customarily served at public festivals (*Pax* 715-18). The scatological joke at *Nu.* 386-89 plays on public consumption of ζωμός at the Panathenaea.

⁷⁶ The political implications of Demos' response seem to continue the political joke (1175-76). When the Sausage-seller offers him the ζωμός, Demos remarks: καλῶς γ' ἐπόησε τοῦ πέπλου μεμνημένη (1180), i.e., the Panathenaic festival, at which Athena is presented with a new peplos, bears witness to our plundering of the allies, cf. 826-27, above n. 60.

τοῖς ἐντέροις; (1183-84). The comic hero responds that Athena sent the ἔντερα for use as ἐντερόνεια in the ships and that she clearly watches over (ἐπισκοπεῖ) the fleet:

Ἐπίτηδες αὐτ' ἔμπεμψέ σοι
εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐντερόνειαν ἢ θεός·
ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ περιφανῶς τὸ ναυτικόν. (1184-86)

We do not know the precise definition of the hapax ἐντερόνεια, but the scholia's definition of "belly timbers" or "ribs" that give support to the substructure of the ship seems plausible.⁷⁷ The ἔντερα, which are not acceptable food for Demos, are the inedible sections of the colon. Here the Sausage-seller comically offers them in place of the σπλάγχνα, the inner organs of the victim that were tasted only by the circle of sacrificial participants.⁷⁸ The verbal play on ἔντερα and ἐντερόνεια works on two levels. Athena sends Demos "intestines," on the one hand, because they are what give strength to the body of the ship, the ἐντερόνεια; at the same time, these "intestines" are inedible parts suitable for dumping into the "belly" of the ships, i.e., the ἐντερόνεια becomes the structure that contains all the excrement. Thus Athena's support for the Paphlagonian and the naval war is, for the sake of the joke, momentarily converted into contempt for the navy and the naval war.

The Sausage-seller in turn offers his master a serving of powerful wine: Ἐχε καὶ πινεῖν κεκραμένον τρία καὶ δύο (1187). When Demos expresses delight at receiving such a mixture (1188), the comic hero declares that τριτογενής herself mixed in the proportions:

Ἡ τριτογενής γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐνετριτώνισεν. (1189)

Τριτογενής is a traditional name and title of Athena that is associated particularly with the goddess of epic.⁷⁹ Scholars have debated the

⁷⁷ *Schol. Ar., Eq.* 1185: ἐντερόνειαν· τὰ ἐγκοιλία, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τρόπιδος ἀνερχόμενα ξύλα, ἐντερόνεια καλεῖται (Chantraine, *REG* 1962, 381 ff.; Frisk and Chantr., s.v. ἔντερα).

⁷⁸ Cf. Burkert, *Religion*, 56-58, 66, 252, 255; Meuli, *Opferbräuche*, 268 ff.; *Gesammelte Schriften* 2, 997 ff. The Paphlagonian is so confident of his superior shamelessness that he even forswears claims to the σπλάγχνα, if his rival should prove to be more shameless than he is: οὐτοί μ' ὑπερβαλίσθ' ἀναιδεῖα μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, ἢ μή ποτ' ἀγοραίου Διὸς σπλάγχνοισι παραγενοίμην (409-10).

⁷⁹ Τριτογενής (more usually, τριτογένεια) is attested as a name of Athena from Homer onwards (e.g., *Hom. Il* 4.515; 8.39; 22.183; *Od* 3.378: *h. Hom.* 28.4; *Hes.*

meaning of τριτογενής since antiquity and have still reached no certain conclusions about its original meaning. There is, however, wide agreement that τριτογενής is somehow connected to the story of Athena's birth place, at or near a body of water called Triton.⁸⁰ In the present passage the poet exploits the title's traditional epic and martial associations for the sake of an occasional joke about the wine's proportions. Τριτο- is both a body of water and a proportion of the mixture prepared by the goddess, i.e., three parts water to two parts wine, a particularly powerful ratio.⁸¹ The joke is carried further with the addition of the ad hoc coinage ἐντριτονίζειν: Athena, Triton-born (τριτογενής) mixes in the three parts of water (ἐντριτονίζειν) with the *merum* for the pleasure of Demos. The immediate effect of such an offering is to show Athena's continuing concern for the comfort and enjoyment of Demos at home in contrast to her comic and momentarily absurd regard for the ships and naval war.

Final confirmation of Athena's support for the Sausage-seller occurs at the climax of the food-serving contest. The "goddess" (ἡ θεός) helps to ensure the hero's victory and thereby expose as false the Paphlagonian's claims to the victory at Pylos. In this scene the Paphlagonian seeks to make manifest his past professions of love by giving Demos a hare (λαγῶς, 1193). This particular offering is both a delicacy, especially rare in war time, and a gift associated with homosexual courtship.⁸² The hare

Th. 895, 921; *Sc.* 197; *Hdt.* 7.141; *Ar. Nu.* 989; *Lys.* 346). The title is often found in metrical inscriptions dedicated to the goddess on the Acropolis (*CEG* 1, 185, 201, 240, 242, 269, 280; *DAA*, 187, 35, 66, 72, 115, 133, 263, 227, [228], 231, 372, 375). Τριτογενής/τριτογένεια is unattested in extant tragedy.

⁸⁰ *Hdt.* 4.180 (a lake in Libya; cf. *E. Ion* 872); *Paus.* 8.26.6 (a spring in Arcadia), *Paus.* 9.33.7 (a stream in Boeotia; cf. *Apollod.* 1.3.6). For a review of the debate over the title's meaning, see Pötscher, *Hera*, 150-60.

⁸¹ This proportion is twice as potent as Hesiod's recommendation (*Op.* 596) for moderate drinkers, three parts (water) to one (wine). Anacreon (*PMG* 356) advises a ratio of two parts (water) to one (wine), stronger than Hesiod's recommendation but still not as potent as that mixed by Athena; Aristophanes' ratio of one to one causes even the god Hermes to feel woozy (*Pl.* 1132). In statements of portions of wine and water, the water usually comes first and the wine second (Page, *S. & A.*, 308).

⁸² Hare's meat was a delicacy eaten on festive occasions (*Ach.* 1005-06; *Pax.* 1196). For the hare as a conventional gift of homosexual courtship, see *ARV*² 284 (Matsch Painter, no. 3), *ARV*² 362 (Triptolemos Painter, no. 21), *ARV*² 471, and Dover, *Homosexuality*, 92. The notion that the two competitors are lovers of Demos who are trying to win his favor is made explicit by Demos himself at 1162-63 (cf. the affectionate diminutive, Δημίδιον, used by the Sausage-seller as he gives Demos the hare's meat, 1199).

was a common present brought by the ἐραστής to his ἐρώμενος, and so the contestant who gives Demos this present literally distinguishes himself as φιλόδημος, "lover of Demos," a political catch-phrase used throughout the comedy to stress one's abiding devotion to Demos and the democracy.⁸³

Athena's preference for the comic hero is clear. At first caught off guard by this gift, the Sausage-seller plays a trick on his rival similar to the one the Paphlagonian had played earlier on the butchers in order to steal their meats (418-20). Athena stands at the center of his improvisation. Pretending to see ambassadors approaching with wallets full of money, the Sausage-seller tricks his competitor into looking away (1195-98). He then seizes the hare and presents it to Demos as his own gift. Turning the cleverness of Athena into that of Hermes, the Sausage-seller explains that he and the goddess share responsibility for the theft's success:⁸⁴

Τὸ μὲν νόημα τῆς θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ κλέμμ' ἐμόν. (1203)

This response demonstrates that, as the source of the ploy, Athena ultimately provides Demos with this gift as she had the preceding offerings of the Sausage-seller. Additionally, it presents the Sausage-seller as a kind of favored hero who, like Odysseus, prevails over his enemies by his own daring and by the divine guidance of his patron goddess and the patron of his city.⁸⁵ In response to the Paphlagonian's protest that the Sausage-seller had "seized his property unjustly" (1200), the latter swears by Poseidon (the final reference to the god in the drama) that the Paphlagonian had done the same thing to the men at Pylos: Νῆ τὸν

⁸³ A politician may be called a "lover" of the demos because he eagerly courts the people's favor (cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 481 d-e; *Alc.* 1.132a) or because he is or claims to be devoted to the interests of the demos. Cf. e.g., 732, 1341, where the Sausage-seller recounts how easily Demos used to be manipulated by politicians who professed their love and devotion to him.

⁸⁴ The attribution of the source of ideas and inspirations to an outside authority (see also the Slaves's remarks at 108) seems to be paratragic, cf. E. *Ph.* 1646: Ἐτεοκλέους βουλευμάτων, οὐχ ἡμῶν, τάδε, E. *Cyc.* 285: θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα· μηδέν' αἰτιῶ βροτῶν, *TrGF* 3, fr. 619: βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Δίον, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χεῖρ.

⁸⁵ The Sausage-seller's address to his θυμός (ὦ θυμέ, νυνὶ βωμολόχον ἔξευρέ τι, 1194) may be compared to Dicaeopolis' address (ὦ θυμέ) parodying the *Telephus* of Euripides at *Ach.* 450, 480, 483 (see Rau, *Paratragodia*, 37-38; Whitman, *Comic Hero*, 84-103).

Ποσειδῶ, καὶ σὺ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου (1201). Thus, the hare's theft is presented as just retribution for the earlier stealing of the cake "kneaded at Pylos" (54-57). As the final mention of Pylos in the comedy, moreover, the comic hero's remark effectively discredits his rival's claims to having won the Athenian victory there.

Each contestant appeals to different and contrasting aspects of Athena in the food-serving competition. The Paphlagonian uses epithets of the goddess that emphasize and exaggerate her martial aspects. He sets her at Pylos as a fellow combatant and as source of his very first gift, a small sacrificial barley-cake. In addition, he evokes images of an Athena dressed in full battle gear and routing the enemy in terror, as he believes he himself has done in the campaign at Pylos. Absurdly, however, the lofty tone that he seeks to create by these epithets is undercut by his meager and ridiculous offerings of food. His Pallas dispenses pea soup as *πυλαιμάχος*, a fish slice as *φοβεμιστράτη*, and a flat cake as *γοργολόφα*. The Sausage-seller, on the other hand, responds to his rival's appeals to Athena with traditional and familiar images of the goddess. His Athena keeps her martial aspects, but she is finally "the goddess" (*Polias*), the provider of *ζωμός*, and the deity who defends and protects the city, his master Demos, and indeed himself. His Athena dispenses boiled meats and tripe as *ὀμβριμοπάτρα*, strong wine as *τριτογενής*, and she protects the demos from the likes of Cleon. This portrayal is likewise ridiculous, but it prevails because the Sausage-seller's Athena is the true city goddess, recipient of the peplos at her great festival, and champion of the knights' own fathers who, as the chorus reminds us, were "worthy of the city and the peplos," and had won fame and glory for Athens at Marathon.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Of the two references to Marathon in *Knights*, the first occurs as the Sausage-seller contrasts the treatment of his master at the hands of the Paphlagonian to his past glory and status at Marathon (781). The second reference occurs when Demos is restored to his past glory and deemed "worthy of the city" and "the trophy at Marathon" (1333-34), just as the knights' ancestors were men "worthy of the city and the peplos" (565-66). But claims to manly strength and valor at Marathon may, in fact, be undercut by the effects of imperial luxury. Indeed, these same knights refer specifically to their own self-indulgence and ostentation: *ἦν ποτ' εἰρήνη γίνεται καὶ πόνων παυσόμεθα | μὴ φθονεῖθ' ἡμῖν κομῶσι μηδ' ἀπεστλεγγισμένοις* (579-80).

Athena also figures prominently in the final round of the oracle-contest which immediately precedes the food-serving competition (1090-95).⁸⁷ The point of this contest is to establish who possesses better prophecies about the destiny of Demos. Although the competitors do not use epithets of Athena in this scene, the kind of goddess whom each envisions complements what we have seen in the passages above. The Paphlagonian, who is outdone by his rival at each recitation, declares in the last exchange that Athena appeared to him in a dream, bearing libations of "wealth-and-health" (πλουθυγεία) for Demos.⁸⁸ As we might expect, the Sausage-seller recites a better dream-oracle of Athena. Indeed, his dream is comically fulfilled for both Demos and his luckless rival.⁸⁹

The Paphlagonian, reciting his oracle (like a χρησμολόγος), declares Athena appeared to him with a libation of "wealth-and-health" in a huge ladle, ἀρύταινα, for Demos:

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ εἶδον ὄναρ, καὶ μούδokei ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ
τοῦ δήμου καταχεῖν ἀρυταίνῃ πλουθυγείαν. (1090-91)

The Paphlagonian presents a typically self-serving and peripheral view of Athena by equipping the goddess with an instrument commonly associated with baths.⁹⁰ The idea of Athena as a kind of bath-attendant is of course preposterous, but it also prepares for the donor's fate by asso-

⁸⁷ The following discussion summarizes the main points of Anderson's article on this scene in *Knights*, TAPA 1991.

⁸⁸ The range of benefits connected to this word is reflected most fully at *Wasps*, 676-77, where Bdelycleon declares that the allies bribe corrupt politicians at Athens with "pickle jars, wine, rugs, cheese, honey, sesame, pillows, libations-bowls, fine clothes, crowns, necklaces, drinking-cups and wealth-and-health." Cf. Anderson, TAPA 1991, 151 n. 9.

⁸⁹ Dream-oracles were thought to be a way by which deities communicated their will and desire to mortals (Bouché-Leclercq, *Divination*, 277-329; Dodds, *Irrational*, 103-11, 117-21; Kessels, *Dreams in Greek Literature*, 155-62. On Aristophanes' treatment of dreams as a means of divination, see Smith, *CIAnt* 1989.

⁹⁰ Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, 213-14. For the comic tone of ἀρύταινα, cf. Aristophanes, *Acontizomene*, PCG 2, fr. 26,1-5:

ἐὰν δὲ τοῦργαστήριον ποιῆτε περιβόητον,
κατασκεδῶ, νῆ τὴν φίλῃν Δήμητρα, τὴν μεγίστην
ἀρύταιναν ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου βάψασα τοῦ λέβητος
ζέοντος ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ (μή), μηδέποθ' ὕδωρ πίοιμι
ἐλευθέριον.

ciating him with baths specifically located by the city gates, ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις (1398). Hence the future shouting matches that he will hold there with “bathmen and prostitutes” comically replaces his former combat at the gates of Spartan Pylos.⁹¹

As elsewhere, the Sausage-seller here appropriates his rival’s imagery for comic effect and to his own advantage. To be sure his dream-oracle is still comic, but it also combines traditional elements of the goddess that render it recognizable and familiar to Demos and the audience. The comic hero declares the goddess of his dream poured a libation of ambrosia over his master’s head, but over the head of his rival a libation of garlic brine:

Νῆ Δία καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ· καὶ μοῦδόκει ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ
ἐκ πόλεως ἐλθεῖν καὶ γλαῦξ αὐτῇ ’πικαθῆσθαι·
εἶτα κατασπένδειν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀρυβάλλω
ἀμβροσίαν κατὰ σοῦ, κατὰ τούτου δὲ σκοροδάλμην.
(1092-95)

Athena’s ἀρύβαλλος, like the ἀρύταινα, is a vessel connected with bathing. But the latter is commonly associated with the bath water, while the former is linked to the perfumed water applied after the bath (here ambrosia for Demos).⁹² In both dreams Athena remains a bath-attendant, but the goddess of the Sausage-seller descends from her citadel to immortalize Demos with ambrosia.⁹³ She resides not at the gates of Pylos, but on the Acropolis of Athens, and she is accompanied by her special bird, the owl, whose presence is a traditional harbinger of

⁹¹ When Demos asks about the Paphlagonian’s fate, the Sausage-seller declares:

Οὐδὲν μέγ’ ἄλλ’ ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξει τέχνην·
ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀλλαντοπωλήσει μόνος,
τὰ κύνεια μειγνὺς τοῖς ὀνείοις πράγμασιν,
μεθύων τε ταῖς πόρναισι λοιδορήσεται,
κάκ τῶν βαλανείων πίεται τὸ λούτριον. (1397-1401)

⁹² On the vessels’ contrasting functions, see Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, 214 n. 1.

⁹³ For the bestowal of immortality by means of ambrosia, see Hes. fr. 23(a) 21-24 M-W (Artemis pours ambrosia over the head of Iphemedē); Theoc. 15.106-08 (Aphrodite anoints Berenike); A. R. 4.871, copying *h. Hom. Dem.* 237 (Thetis attempts to immortalize Achilles). See Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, 238-39; Graf, *Milch, Honig und Wein*, 209 ff. For discussion of ambrosia as a perfumed unguent, see Lilja, *Odors in Poetry of Antiquity*, 58-59. On divine fragrances in general, see Lohnmeyer, *Göttlichen Wohlgeruch*.

success and victory.⁹⁴ Indeed, the Sausage-seller's oracle foreshadows the rejuvenation and restoration of Demos to his former fame and glory (1325-28).⁹⁵ The sweet fragrance of the ambrosia, moreover, contrasts with the rancid stench of garlic-brine which, in the same dream, Athena pours over the head of his competitor. This latter image, in turn, mirrors the Slave's final recitation of the oracle concerning the hero's stewardship of the demos (195-99). Having pilfered several of the Paphlagonian's personal oracles, the Slave reports that the Sausage-seller is destined to prevail and that the garlic-brine of the Paphlagonians shall perish, δὴ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλμη (199).⁹⁶

Thus we can see that Athena plays an essential role in defining the issues of the play. She is not a stage character, but she looms large over the action and outcome of the competition for the favor of Demos. The Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller each define their competing visions of Athena, and thus her city, through the epithets with which they invoke her.

⁹⁴ E.g., Plutarch reports that the imminent victory of Themistocles at Salamis was thought to be signaled by the appearance of Athena's owl in the rigging of his ship (*Them.* 12.1). See also D. S. 20.11 3-4; *AB* 1. 232-33; *Schol. Ar., Ve.* 1086; *Hsch.* s.v. γλαῦξ.

⁹⁵ When the Chorus-leader inquires about the condition and whereabouts of the rejuvenated Demos, the Sausage-seller replies (1325-28):

Οἴός περ Ἀριστείδη πρότερον καὶ Μιλτιάδῃ ξυνεσῖται.
 ὄψεσθε δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος ἤδη τῶν προπυλαίων·
 ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθῆναις
 καὶ θαυμασταῖς καὶ πολυύμνοις, ἔν' ὁ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.

For the epiphany of Demos, see Kleinknecht, *Hermes* 1939, 144 ff.

⁹⁶ This is the single other reference to garlic-brine in the play. Garlic and its by-products are also closely connected with fierce and bellicose natures (cf. e.g., *Eq.* 946; *Ach.* 166, 526, and see Taillardat, *Images*, 378). Thus the Paphlagonian-Cleon comically receives a treatment befitting his own nature.

Chapter II

Athena in *Lysistrata*

The salvation of the city is also the central theme of *Lysistrata* and, as in *Knights*, the goddess Athena, although she is not a stage character, plays a central role in defining the major conflict of the comedy, whether the fundamental character of Athens is as a city of peace or a city of war.¹ In the earlier drama the city's salvation depends on its deliverance from the hands of the Paphlagonian-Cleon, whose defeat comes about when the Sausage-seller tops each of his attempts to win over Athena to his side and in so doing displays a richer appreciation of her through his use of titles and descriptions than his rival. This superior vision allows the Sausage-seller to prevail in the action of the play. In *Lysistrata*, the women of Greece act to rescue the city and the Hellenic world at large from the ruinous war policies of the old men. Unless these policies are stopped, they will destroy the fundamental structure of Greek communal life, and hence of Athens itself, the οἶκος.² To dramatize this theme Aristophanes first sets the play at the gates of the Acropolis, the repository of the city's wealth and the cult center and residence, the οἶκος, of Athena Polias. As in the earlier play, it is a question of the antagonists appealing to particular aspects of Athena in order to win her support in the struggle for possession of the Acropolis, and hence control of the city. Again, the epithets and names the antagonists use to characterize Athena represent the means by which both sides reveal their appreciation

¹ *Eq.* 149 (sc. the First Slave: ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῦν φανείς), 458 (sc. the chorus of *Knights*: καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτήρ φανείς ἡμῖν τε τοῖς πολίτας), *Lys.* 30 (sc. *Lysistrata*: ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία), 41 (sc. the chorus of women: κοινῇ σώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα), 498-99 (sc. *Lysistrata*: ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς σώσομεν. Proboulus: ὑμεῖς; *Lysistrata*: ἡμεῖς μέντοι. Proboulus: σχετλίον γε. | *Lysistrata*: ὡς σωθήσεται, κἂν μὴ βούλῃ), 525-26 (sc. *Lysistrata*: μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα κοινῇ | ταῖσι γυναιξίν).

² For the city as an enlarged οἶκος in this play, see Vaio, *GRBS* 1973, 377 ff.; Foley, *CPh* 1982, esp. 6-13. For discussion of Panhellenic themes in *Lysistrata*, see Huggill, *Panhellenism in Aristophanes*, esp. 1-38.

and understanding of her. Following the pattern that we have traced in *Knights*, Lysistrata and her followers prevail in large part because they appropriate their rival's martial appeals and fashion them into a comprehensive vision of Athena and her city.

The first epithet of Athena, δέσποινα, occurs in the initial confrontation between the male and female choruses in the parodos.³ This confrontation well exemplifies how the antagonists understand Athena in fundamentally different ways. As the male chorus prepares to set the gates ablaze, the Coryphaeus prays for a trophy, addressing δέσποινα Νίκη, that is Athena Nike, whose sanctuary was situated on a bastion overlooking the approach to the Propylaea.⁴

δέσποινα Νίκη, ξυγγενοῦ τῶν τ' ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον ἡμᾶς. (317-18)

The Coryphaeus' appeal to δέσποινα Νίκη reflects precisely how the men understand the wives' motives for seizing the Acropolis. From their point of view, the wives are guilty of treason and impiety, and must, like all enemies of the city, be confronted and destroyed. The men see themselves therefore as acting in the time-honored tradition of expelling invaders from the Acropolis.⁵ The Coryphaeus even compares the present crisis with the occupation of the Spartan king, Cleomenes, whom the old veterans had easily dislodged from the citadel when he tried to force oligarchy on the city (271-81). They further equate victory over the besieged wives with their victory over the Persian invaders at Marathon, as they pray for a new trophy, presumably to complement the one that stood at Marathon.⁶

³ On δέσποινα, see Chapter 1, pp. 16-18.

⁴ Construction on the parapet of the Nike bastion began sometime after work was resumed on the Propylaea in 432 (Meiggs, *Athenian Empire*, 496-503, 519) and was completed either around the time of the play's production in 411, or in the following year (PDAA, 149).

⁵ Cf. 256-65, 283-84, 616-25, 630-35.

⁶ 285, μή νυν ἔτ' ἐν (τῇ) τετραπόλει τοῦμόν τροπαῖον εἶη. The trophy at Marathon, which may have been the earliest permanent victory marker in Greece, consisted of a marble Ionic column topped by a Nike figure (Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 1966). The Marathon trophy is mentioned elsewhere by Aristophanes at *Eq.* 1334; *Ve.* 711; *Holkades*, PCG 3.2, fr. 429. For Athenian pride in this trophy, see West, *CPh* 1969. It is possible that the men's allusion is to the Nike (?) statue dedicated at Delphi (Hdt.

The men's patriotic rage, anachronistic and misplaced as it seems, is intensified by their belief that the wives aim to subvert traditional gender roles and establish a new political and social order. Females, as far as they are concerned, belong at home, spinning and weaving at the loom and not marshaled like an army on Athena's and their own Acropolis.⁷ The men's characterization of the smoke spewing from the fire-pot as Lemnian fire further develops the theme of female aggression and treachery.⁸ The allusion, while primarily a pun on the sore eyes caused by the thick smoke, λήμη (301), suggests that the intruders, like the legendary Lemnian women, plan to murder their husbands and establish gynarchy.⁹ Indeed, the Coryphaeus' exhortation to "bring aid to the goddess," βοήθει τῇ θεῷ (303), indicates that the males see themselves as operating on behalf of Athena whom they suppose to be as enraged at the women's actions as they themselves are.¹⁰

The Coryphaeus' prayer for a new trophy, addressing Athena as δέσποινα Νίκη, is crucial for understanding Aristophanes' characterization of the male chorus. The old men comprehend Athena exclusively in her martial aspect; thus their attempted solution is a military one. From the men's perspective, the wives' continued occupation of the Acropolis is intolerable. But when the old veterans marshal at the gates with fire and torches, they put themselves into the contradictory (and absurd) po-

8.121.2). But the chorus' direct address goes to Nike whose bastion overlooked the Propylaea (Paus. 1.22.4).

⁷ Lysistrata's attitude toward the ownership of the Acropolis contrasts sharply with that of the men. She describes the citadel as belonging to Athena, αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς θεοῦ | ἤδη κατειλήφασιν (241-42). The male chorus, on the other hand, assumes a proprietary attitude: (sc. γυναῖκες) κατὰ τ' ἀκρόπολιν ἐμὸν λαβεῖν (263).

⁸ 299-300, κάσιν γ' Ἀήμιον τὸ πῦρ | τοῦτο. Smoke and fire are the usual means to cleanse ritually space that has been defiled. Cf. e.g., Odysseus' purification of his palace with smoke after the slaughter of the suitors, *Od.* 22. 481-94.

⁹ On the crimes of the Lemnian women, cf. *Schol. Ar.*, 298-99; Burkert, *CQ* 1970; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 190-96; Martin, *CIAnt* 1987. For employment of the myth of the Lemnian Women to interpret the play, see Bowie, *Aristophanes*, 186-95.

¹⁰ 302-04:

σπεῦδε πρόσθεν εἰς πόλιν
καὶ βοήθει τῇ θεῷ
ἢ πότ' αὐτῇ μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν...ἀρήξομεν;

For the expression "come to the god's aid," cf. A. *Sept.* 14; S. *OT* 136; Hdt. 8. 144.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.6; D. 18.157, with Parker, *Miasma*, 165 n. 119.

sition of setting the Acropolis ablaze as the Persian invaders had done in 480. The religious implications of the men's actions are even more disturbing. By burning the Acropolis the old men will inevitably cause the death of the wives (and thereby commit an even greater impiety against the gods)¹¹ as well as destroy the Polias statue whose rescue they explicitly claim to champion.¹²

The old Marathon-fighters have already gone so far as to use freshly cut olive logs to fuel the fire-pot.¹³ The olive tree was the paramount symbol of peace and supplication in the Greek world, and at Athens its cutting was strictly regulated by law.¹⁴ The olive tree was also sacred to Athena, and the Polias cult statue itself was fashioned of olive wood.¹⁵ By marshaling themselves at the gates of the Acropolis with fire brands, the men, in their zeal to drive the women from the heights, momentarily recall the actions of the Persian army and so undercut all claims to piety and patriotism.¹⁶ In this connection the remarks of the semi-chorus of old women at the close of the *parados* are especially poignant. As the old women rush to help their besieged companions, they declare: οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἄν χρηστοί γ' ἔδρων οὐδ' εὐσεβεῖς τάδ' ἄνδρες (350).

The epithet δέσποινα in the men's prayer to Athena Nike is a verbal reminiscence of the earlier prayer of Lysistrata to the goddess Peitho (202-04), who was worshipped with Aphrodite Pandemos at a common shrine on the southwestern slope of the Acropolis.¹⁷ In a parody of the

¹¹ As hieratic space the Acropolis is a sanctuary for all who seek refuge there. Cf. e.g., the curse on the Alcmaeonids for the unlawful execution of the Cylonian conspirators who had sought refuge there (Hdt. 5.70-71; Thuc. 1.126).

¹² Cf. 262: (sc. γυναῖκας) κατὰ μὲν ἅγιον ἔχειν βρέτας, with Henderson, *Lysistrata*, ad loc.

¹³ 254-55: χώρει, Δράκης, ἡγοῦ βάδην, εἰ καὶ τὸν ὄμον ἀλγεῖς | κορμοῦ τοσοῦτον βάρος χλωρῶς φέρων ἐλαίας.

¹⁴ For the olive tree's association with peace and supplication, see Ar. *Pax* 578-79 (cf. A. *Ch.* 1035; *Eu.* 43; S. *OT* 3). At Athens the death penalty could be inflicted on anyone who tampered with Athena's sacred olives (Arist. *Ath Pol.* 60.2; cf. Lys. 7; *GGR*³ 442-43; *RE* 17 2015-2055, s. v. *ölbaum*, A. S. Pease).

¹⁵ For the sacred olive tree at Athens, see S. *OC* 694-706.

¹⁶ For the Persian destruction, see Hdt. 8.55; Paus. 1.27.2.

¹⁷ The sanctuary of Peitho and Aphrodite Pandemos was located on the southwest slope of the Acropolis (Paus. 1.22; cf. G. Dontas, *Ergon* [1960] 10-13, who has apparently found part of this shrine). For the worship of Peitho and Aphrodite at

traditional blood sacrifice that solemnized the taking of oaths, Lysistrata pours the offering of “blood” (οἶνος), as she administers the women’s oath to withhold sex from their husbands:¹⁸

δέσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία,
τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐμένης. (203-04)

In addition to the correspondence of the epithet (δέσποινα appears only here and in the men’s prayer), there are further points of comparison between Lysistrata’s appeal and the men’s later appeal to Athena. Lysistrata invokes the “cup of friendship” (κύλιξ φιλοτησία) and Peitho, an aspect of Aphrodite long worshipped at Athens, thereby combining the theme of peace with verbal and erotic persuasion.¹⁹ The Coryphaeus invokes the corresponding vessel of the men’s activity, the fire-pot, χύτρα, as he appeals for a military victory over the women and a new trophy to stand on the Acropolis.²⁰ Moreover, just as the women interpret the rich dark color of the “blood” (i.e., wine) flowing from the κύλιξ as a favorable sign from the gods, so the old men regard the thick dark smoke rising from the χύτρα as a sign of divine approval for their plan (306).²¹ Hence the imagery in the prayers further contrasts the paradoxical positions of the antagonists. The women, on the one hand,

Athens and elsewhere in Greece, see Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen*, 63-64; Simon, *Festivals*, 48-51. The goddess Athena refers to Peitho’s crucial role in helping her to persuade the Erinyes to accept her final judgment (A. Eu. 885-86, 970-72).

¹⁸ Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 49-50; cf. Stengel, *Opfergebräuche*, 78-85; Burkert, *Religion*, 250-54; Henderson, *Lysistrata*, ad loc.

¹⁹ According to the inscription that prescribes the rites of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho, the ritual was performed κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (“in accordance with ancestral practices,” IG 2².659).

²⁰ χύτραι were earthen cooking pots often used for transporting fire (Ar. Av. 42-45; Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.4). For representations and discussion of χύτραι, see Sparkes, *JHS* 1962, 130. Presumably the old men purchase the χύτρα in full battle-gear at the “pot market” (ἐν ταῖς χύτραις) where they customarily shop for their domestic supplies (557-58). The men’s command that the pot arouse the smoke (σὸν δ’ ἔργον ἐστίν, ὦ χύτρα, τὸν ἄνθρακ’ ἐξεγείρειν, 315) is echoed by the women’s appeal to the River Achelous to extinguish the men’s fire: σὸν ἔργον, ὀχελῶιε, 381. The metonymy, Achelous for water (cf. Ar. *Cocalus*, PCG 3.2, fr. 365), is paratragic; cf. S. (*Athamas*) TrGF 4 fr. 5; E. *Andr.* 167, Ba. 625; Rau, *Paratragodia*, 199.

²¹ Calonice exclaims (205): εὐχρων γε θαῖμα κάποπυτιζει καλῶς. For the color of the sacrificial blood as a sign of divine approval, see Chapter I, p. 25. For the liveliness of smoke and fire as a sign of divine goodwill, see Thummer, *Pindar*, I. 5.2. The smoke is comically conceived as arising from the mythical volcano of Hephaestus on Lemnos.

The titles χρυσολόφα, “Golden-plumed,” and πολιοῦχος, “Protector of the city,” could be seen as serving a purely ornamental function in the prayer. Χρυσολόφα is a title attested only in poetry, and its few other occurrences indicate that it is reserved for martial deities. Epithets formed from the χρυσ- element are a stock feature in prayers and hymns, and so χρυσολόφα, although relatively rare, is in itself unremarkable.²³ The epithet πολιοῦχος, on the other hand, is commonly used as a poetic synonym for the tutelary deity of a city.²⁴ But in the women’s prayer to Athena, uttered here at the gates of the Acropolis, χρυσολόφα and πολιοῦχος evoke images of the goddess that are at once as familiar as the men’s δέσποινα Νίκη and at the same time universal. The title χρυσολόφα calls to mind the great bronze statue of Athena Promachus. The Promachus image, which commemorated the Athenian victory at Marathon, towered over other structures on the Acropolis, and its bronze helmet and spear-tip (both probably gilded) were visible from as far away as Sunium.²⁵ Πολιοῦχος, on the other hand, calls to mind Athena Polias whose citadel the wives now occupy in order to save Greece and the citizens of their city from ruin.²⁶

The prayer to Athena as χρυσολόφα and πολιοῦχος follows the wish for deliverance from war and civil strife (μανία).²⁷ Thus the women turn the tables on the men by occupying their opponents’ world,

²³ χρυσολόφα (derived from χρυσόλοφος, ον) is again attested as an epithet of Athena in a fragment of Anacreon, χρυσολόφον[ς] Παλλάδος (PMG 346 frs. 11+3+6, 18); the title also appears in a papyrus fragment of Bacchylides, apparently in connection with Ares (χρυσολόφον, 20A 13). Aristophanes uses the first element with deities at *Av.* 217 (χρυσοκόμας, Apollo), *Eq.* 559 (χρυσοστρίαινος, Poseidon), *Th.* 315 (χρυσολύρας, Apollo), *Th.* 318 (χρυσόλογος, Athena), *Th.* 321 (χρυσῶπις, Leto); see Bruchmann, *Epitheta*, s.v. χρυσ-.

²⁴ See Chapter 1, p. 11 n. 4.

²⁵ For the Promachus statue of Phidias, see Paus. 1.28 1-2. The epithet may also call to mind Phidias’ chryselephantine image of Athena Parthenos. This massive gold and ivory statue was adorned with a triple-crested gold helmet, and held a large winged figure of Nike in its right hand and an upright spear in its left (Paus. 1.24, 5-7). The Parthenos statue, like the Promachus image, was representative of Athens’ imperial power and prestige.

²⁶ Loraux (*AncSoc* 1980-81, 141-42; *Children of Athena*, 172-73) identifies χρυσολόφα and πολιοῦχος in this prayer with the images of Athena Parthenos and Polias, respectively. Her discussion, however, focuses on the comic portrayal of the Acropolis rather than on the titles of Athena in the play.

²⁷ 341-45. For the association of the term μανία with party strife and political factions, see Connor, *New Politicians*, 92 n. 9.

a world of war and violence, and by adapting Athena to it. With the goddess's help the wives can save Greece and the citizens of Athens (ῥυσαμένας | 'Ελλάδα καὶ πολίτας, 341-42) just as the old veterans had once saved Athens and the Hellenic world from the Persians with divine assistance.²⁸ Moreover, the focus on πολιοῦχος, i.e. Polias, recalls the prominence of her cult whose chief structure, the Erechtheum, was already under construction at the time of this play's performance in 411 B.C.²⁹ Indeed, the wives stress their services to Athena Polias later in the play, and it is for her of course that they had wove the sacred peplos and served as young girls in her cults on the Acropolis (638-47). Thus, the women's understanding of Athena subsumes that of the old men, who appeal to her only as a martial deity, and broadens it to include Athena in her other major aspects on the citadel.

Even the third epithet of the women's prayer, τριτογένεια (346-47), exemplifies the women's close affectionate relationship with Athena. As I discussed in the previous chapter, τριτογένεια is an ancient name and title of Athena, particularly as she is appears in epic, that is connected with her birthplace at or near a body of water called Triton; τριτογένεια means literally "Trito-born." But unlike the earlier example from *Knights*, where the τριτο- element gives rise to a pun on the body of water and the proportions of the mixture of wine, in this prayer τριτογένεια is used primarily for its general associations with water.³⁰ The chorus of old women evokes Athena "Trito-born" to supply water in order to quench the fire at the Acropolis gates. Thus, the appeal to Athena translates into a comic image of the otherwise lofty and epic goddess literally helping as a water-bearer and a fellow fire-fighter (φέρειν ὕδωρ)

²⁸ Cf. Hdt. 7.139.5: νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γένεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οὐκ ἂν ἄρμαρτάνοι τάληθός... αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐγεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοῦς ἀνωσάμενοι.

²⁹ Cf. *Lysistrata*'s reference to mechanical equipment (722), τροχιλεῖα, "block and tackle," that was then being used in the construction of Erechtheum (*IG* 1².313.112, 314.123; Sparkes, *JHS* 1976, 130-31). The scholarly consensus is that *Lysistrata* was produced in 411 B.C. at the Lenaea. Full discussion and general review of the scholarship dealing with the play's dating is given by Henderson, *Lysistrata*, pp. xv-xxv. See also Chapter III, p. 57 n. 1.

³⁰ The name suggests a connection with water (*CGS* 1 265 ff.). Cf. also the name's similarity with the sea deities, Triton and Amphitrite (Sommerstein, *Lysistrata*, ad loc.).

at the Propylaea.³¹ However, the epithet has more than just comic appeal. Through it Aristophanes highlights the women's underlying simplicity and trust in their relationship with Athena as a female goddess, for they in fact expect *τριτογένεια* to act as their ally (*ξόμμαχον*, 346) and assist them in extinguishing the flames.³²

We can see at this point two different conceptions of Athena. The chorus of men, on the one hand, envisions Athena as a goddess of military power and monumental trophies. But unwittingly the tactics that they employ to rescue her cult image on the Acropolis, if successful, will result in the destruction of Athena's temples and images as well as the pollution of her sacred precinct, which is her *οἶκος*. The chorus of women, on the other hand, certainly acknowledges Athena's military aspect, but the singers also have a broader and more inclusive understanding of Athena's domain than their male rivals do. The women appeal to Athena as the patron goddess of the city and chief deity of the Acropolis as well as the powerful defender of domestic order and tranquillity.

But it is the third passage to be discussed that best illustrates the kind of relationship Aristophanes' women of Athens enjoy with Athena. In the antode of the parabasis the women respond to the men's accusation that they are plotting with the Spartans to establish a new tyranny (616-35). Drawing on contemporary political terminology,³³ the female chorus there emphasizes the relationship of mutuality and reciprocity that it enjoys with the city. Even as the women recount their many services in the cults of deities, they stress that the city has likewise served and nurtured them (*ἔθρεψέ με*, 640). The chorus sings:³⁴

ἡμεῖς γάρ, ὦ πάντες ἄστοί, λόγων

³¹ Cf. the Sausage-seller's comic exploitation of the title's associations with water at *Eq.* 1189.

³² For the belief that the deity will literally assist as an ally in time of need, cf. *Ar. Eq.* 587-88, *Lys.* 349 (with Wilamowitz); *A. Ag.* 811 (with Fraenkel); *E. Med.* 395-96, *Hipp.* 523, *Ion* 48.

³³ The female *ἄστοί* (638) continually describe themselves in political terms; e.g., *λόγων* | *κατάρχομεν τῇ πόλει χρησίμων* (638-39), *ἡμῶν χρηστὰ λεγουσῶν* (527), *χρηστοί* (351; cf. the antonym, *πονηροί*, used of the men, 350), *χρηστὸν τῇ πόλει* (648), *φιλόπολις* (546), *κοινὴν εὐνοίαν* (579). See Connor, *New Politicians*, index, esp. 105-08.

³⁴ The verb *τρέφω* refers both to physical and intellectual nurture: *Nu.* 986, *Ra.* 886.

κατάρχομεν τῇ πόλει χρησίμων·
 εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με· 640
 ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθύς ἡρρηφόρουν·
 εἴτ' ἄλετρις ἦ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι,
 καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις·
 κάκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ'
 ἰσχάδων ὀρμαθόν. (638-47)

What is immediately striking is the prominence of services performed for Athena on the Acropolis.³⁵ As maiden “bearers of sacred relics,” ἄρρηφόροι, the women had once lived for a year in a special house next to the precinct of Athena Polias. The duties of the ἄρρηφόροι, who were selected only from aristocratic families, included tending to Athena's sacred olive tree, and receiving training in the domestic crafts under the tutelage of the Polias priestess.³⁶ The most important of these domestic crafts were spinning and weaving. Indeed, a major function of the young ἄρρηφόροι was to help set up the great loom so that work could begin on a new peplos for the goddess.³⁷ The association of this service with spinning and weaving will recall Lysistrata's earlier use of wool-working as a metaphor for restoring the city to order and well-being at 567-86. The comic heroine there argues that Athens and her subject-allies should be treated as a kind of fleece from

³⁵ For the many cults in which women served, see McClees, *Women in Attic Inscriptions*, 5 ff.; Turner, *Female Priesthoods*, *passim*. The service of women in the cults of the city was the exception to their seclusion in the house and out of public view (Gould, *JHS* 1980, 38 ff., 50-51).

³⁶ For election and duties of the ἄρρηφόροι, see Call. fr. 741 Pf; Harp. s.v. ἄρρηφορεῖν; *EM* p. 149, 13-18, s.v. ἄρρηφόροι καὶ ἄρρηφορία; AB. 1, 202.3; *Suid.* α 3848, χ 35 (cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 10-12; Burkert, *Hermes* 1966, 3-5). For the location of the house in which the ἄρρηφόροι lived during their stay on the Acropolis, see *PDAA* 70-71, fig. 91, no. 124. Representations of ἄρρηφόροι in the plastic arts can be found in Jucker, *AK* 1963.

³⁷ Work began on the peplos at the Chalcea, a joint festival of Hephaestus and Athena ἐργάνη, held to celebrate all handicrafts (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 35-36, Simon, *Festivals*, 38-39). Absurdly, the men seem to regard Hephaestus as their ally even as they prepare to ignite the gates of the Acropolis with Lemnian fire (300). Burkert, *Hermes* 1966, 21-22, suggests, I believe correctly, that the men's attack with fire comically alludes to the attempted rape of Athena by Hephaestus. The associations of the peplos and the Panathenaic festival with patriotism and civic pride are well reflected by the knights' remarks in the epirrhematic syzygy: εὐλογῆσαι βουλόμεθα τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἰ ἄνδρες ἦσαν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἄξιοι καὶ τοῦ πέπλου (*Eq.* 565-68).

which, with appropriate care, a protective cloak can be woven to protect the demos and its subject-allies.³⁸ Thus the women possess the technical skill and experience needed to practice Athena's special craft, a craft which can provide metaphorical security and protection for Athens and its empire. This completes the reversal of gender roles since the women are trying to impose on Athens what the Athenian men would regard as the female domain.

In addition, the festival of the Arrhephoria has symbolic value for the chorus of women. The Arrhephoria was a night festival of both Athena and Aphrodite in which the maiden ἀρρηφόροι carried "secret items," probably phallic objects, from the precinct of Athena Polias to the underground enclosure of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the citadel and back again as their final act of service on the Acropolis. The experience marked a rite of passage for the ἀρρηφόροι, who were now regarded as ritually prepared for puberty and the attendant role of child-bearing.³⁹ Thus, by alluding to the initiation, the women remind us that they are withholding their sexual favors, and have in a comic sense become maidens again. Moreover, the association of Athena and Aphrodite in the Arrhephoria calls to mind the major role that these two deities play in *Lysistrata*'s plan for restoring order and normality to the city. It is only through the application of νοῦς, a special attribute of Athena, and of Aphrodite's sexual powers that the wives will finally persuade their

³⁸ *Lysistrata* concludes her recommendation thus:

κἄτ' ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων τὸ κάταγμα λαβόντας
 δεῦρο ξυνάγειν καὶ συναθροίζειν εἰς ἓν, κάπειτα ποιῆσαι
 τολύπην μεγάλην, κἄτ' ἐκ ταύτης τῷ δήμῳ χλαῖναν ὑφῆναι (584-86).

The wool-working metaphor, anticipated at 519-29 and 532-38, is a well-known rhetorical paradigm (Murphy, *HSPH* 1938, 93-94); cf. *Ar. Ec.* 214-40, 265-79, where Praxagora draws examples from household chores to argue that women are qualified to manage the city. The cloak symbolizes renewed well-being for the city (586, 1022-23, 1156; cf. *Eq.* 881-83, where the Sausage-seller gives a chiton to shivering Demos).

³⁹ Pausanias, the major source for the festival, describes what little is known about it (1.27.3). The girls themselves are the equivalent of the mythic daughters of King Cecrops, and their journey, on their last night of service on the citadel, to the precinct of Aphrodite represents a symbolic "maiden-sacrifice" through which the renewal of the community is ensured (Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 150-54). For a survey of the major interpretations of the festival, Simon, *Festivals*, 39-46.

husbands to make peace, and thus themselves be able to resume their traditional roles as mothers and home managers.⁴⁰

The wife's second service as ἀλετρίδες, or corn-grinders, for Athena ἀρχηγέτις also emphasizes the imposition of the female world onto the world of the men. As an ἀλετρίς, the chorus apparently ground meal for the sacrificial cakes offered to the cult image of Athena Polias or perhaps to her sacred snake on the citadel; we may also assume that, like the other service to Athena mentioned in the prayer, the ἀλετρίδες were chosen only from daughters of the aristocracy.⁴¹ The title ἀρχηγέτις, which is the only epithet to occur in this prayer (further stressed by the rare form of the dative τὰρχηγέτι), is commonly used to designate the "founder" or patron of a city or colony. This is the earliest attestation of the epithet with Athena, but that Athena Polias is meant can be reasonably inferred from later attestations of the title.⁴² The fact that corn-grinding was a traditional task for household servants underscores the women's humble devotion to the goddess, and recalls for us that it is this type of regime that is going to be imposed on the exclusively martial Athena of the men. The Acropolis is Athena's οἶκος, and the city is to return to values that place the οἶκος at the center of its life.

The chorus concludes with reference to service as κνηφόροι, bearers of sacred baskets. Basket carrying was a feature of many festivals, but the placement of the service here points to carrying sacred baskets in the Panathenaic procession to the Acropolis. The baskets themselves contained the instruments and materials needed to perform the sacrifices for Athena Polias. Selection to the office of κνηφόρος involved elaborate preparation and expense on the part of the family and

⁴⁰ On the role of νόμος in Lysistrata's plans, see 432, 572, 1124. For the importance of Aphrodite to the plan's success, see Lysistrata's prayer to Aphrodite and Eros (833-34). For Aphrodite and Athena in the play, see Elderkin, *CPh* 1940.

⁴¹ See Wilamowitz, *Lysistrata*, 638. In addition to the office of ἀλετρίδες, there were offices called ἱεροὶ μολῶνες which were also considered prestigious (*Schol. Ar., Lys.* ad 643).

⁴² *SEG* 28, 60A (dated to 270/69), *IG* 1².38, *IG* 2².674; *Plu., Alc.* 2; *Schol. Ar., Av.* 515 (who refers to the Polias statue on the Acropolis as the image of ἀρχηγέτις). Cf. Kroll, *Hesperia* 1982. *SEG* 28, 60A indicates that by the third century ἀρχηγέτις could be used as another name for Polias, Shear, *Hesperia* 1978, 36.

was of course a source of great pride and prestige.⁴³ Hence, the chorus facetiously offers to outfit a maiden basket-bearer free of charge in the interlude at 1189-1194. Like the other service to Athena in the prayer, appointment to the office of *κωνηφόρος* was reserved for daughters of the aristocracy;⁴⁴ it was also the culmination of a young maiden's service to the goddess on the Acropolis.⁴⁵

The reader may here wonder whether the inclusion of these references to various aspects of the women's worship of Athena is not merely a function of traditional gender roles. Athenian men had no opportunity to participate in a similar practical way in her cults on the Acropolis, and so their view of the goddess might be thought to focus naturally on her military aspects. In fact, it may be argued, the women's richer appreciation of Athena results simply from the fact that they are women and hence eligible to perform ceremonies from which men are excluded. Gender roles are indeed an important feature of the characterization and humor of the play. But the fact that the old warriors cannot serve in the cults of Athena does not mean that they must view her only in a military aspect. We need only recall *Knights*, where the Sausage-seller, a male character, likewise displays a richer and broader appreciation of Athena than his rival, the Paphlagonian-Cleon, through his use of titles and descriptions of the goddess. The point here is that in *Lysistrata* there are likewise two competing visions of Athena, and therefore of Athens itself. On the one hand, the men conceive of Athena and her city in a very simplistic manner by focusing exclusively on Athena's military qualities. The women, on the other hand, certainly recognize this aspect of Athena, but their conception of her also includes the central values of the *οἶκος*,

⁴³ The *κωνηφόροι* are Athenian maidens of spotless character (*Men. Epitr.* 438-41). For the *κωνηφόροι* depicted on the Parthenon frieze, see Simon, *Festivals*, 60 ff. and pl. 22.1.

⁴⁴ Thuc. 6.56; Philoch. *FrGH* 323 F8.

⁴⁵ See Henderson's note, *Lysistrata*, 646-47. The chorus also mentions having played the she-bear, *ἄρκτος*, in the cult of Artemis Brauronia; it appears that all Athenian girls (not just those from aristocratic backgrounds) passed through this ritual; see Kahil, *AK* 1977. On the social function of the ritual for Athenian women, see Coles, *ZPE* 1984, 233 ff. For the role of bears in the cult of Artemis, see Meuli, *Opferbräuche*, 227 ff., *Gesammelte Schriften* 2, 956 and *passim*; Burkert, *Religion*, 151; Bevan, *ABSA* 1987, 17 ff. The shrine of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis was apparently one of many cults imported from the demes (here, Brauron) and given a duplicate shrine in the city in the sixth century (Wycherley, *Stones of Athens*, 134).

family, children and peace. This is not to say that women's values prevail in the drama; rather the women's chorus merges both male and female perspectives, martial and domestic. This flexible and comprehensive view of the goddess, bringing benefits not to one or another of the sexes but to the entire community, ultimately wins out.

In the dramatic action that follows, the women of Greece under the leadership of Lysistrata prevail over the men and achieve their goal of peace and reconciliation. At 1273-90 an Athenian ambassador emerges from the citadel to invite a number of gods to join the festivities. Although Athena is not included in this list of deities, her presence on the Acropolis is certain, for her sacred snake and hooting howl have kept the women from sleeping (758-61). The chorus of men and women responds to this invitation with a victory paeon (1291-94): ἀλαλαὶ ἰὴ παιῶν. | αἶρεσθ' ἄνω, ἰαί, | ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη, ἰαί. | εὐοῖ εὐοῖ, εὐαί εὐαί. The phrase ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη refers both to the victory of Lysistrata and her followers in the play and to the anticipated victory of the play at the dramatic competition. Thus the chorus comically transforms the old men's earlier prayer for "victory" over the women (317-18) into a celebration of their victory in the play and an appeal for the poet's success in the competition for first prize.⁴⁶

Athena next appears in the Laconian's victory song in the exodus (1296-1321). In this passage the Spartan singer invokes the goddess along with Apollo of Amyclae and the mythical founders of Athena's temple there, the Tyndaridae, to join the victory dance (1299-1300).⁴⁷ The epithets that he uses to describe Athena reflect her tutelary as well as

⁴⁶ For a similar appeal to the audience for victory, see *Ec.* 1180-83 (...ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη) and *DTC*, 211.

⁴⁷ 1296-1300:

Ταύγετον αὖτ' ἔραννὸν ἐκλιπῶά
Μῶά μόλε, (μόλε) Λάκαινα, πρεπτόν ἀμῖν
κλέωά τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιὸν
καὶ Χαλκίοικον Ἀσάναν
Τυνδαρίδας τ' ἀγασώς

The temple of Apollo of Amyclae held the Spartan copy of the treaty of Nicias (Thuc. 5.18.10; 5.23.4); the Athenian copy of the treaty was erected on the Acropolis near the Polias temple (Thuc. 5.23.5). The Tyndaridae had a sanctuary close to the northwest slope of the Athenian Acropolis (Paus. 1.18.1; Judeich, *Topographie*, 304; Wycherley, *Agora* 3, 61-63). For depictions of the Tyndaridae on Attic vases, see Brommer, *Vasenlisten*, 360 ff.

her athletic and martial aspects. The first epithet that is applied to Athena, χαλκίαιος, evokes the goddess as patron deity of Sparta (1299, cf. 1321). As the name indicates, χαλκίαιος denotes Athena as she resided in the famous bronze-doored temple that stood by the banks of the Eurotas River.⁴⁸ Fifth-century inscriptional evidence indicates that χαλκίαιος was an equivalent for the title πολιοῦχος; that is, Athena Polias of Sparta.⁴⁹ The elevation of Athena to the status of a major deity of the Spartans (which is further stressed by the fact that the Athenian ambassador does not mention her in his invitation to the gods) suggests a joke. As part of *Lysistrata*'s plan for peace and reconciliation, the Lacedaemonians will now have the same city goddess. Thus, Sparta becomes a kind of Athens of the Peloponnesus, which for the Athenians of course is a strong argument for accepting the peace.

The characterization of Athena as πάμμαχος presents problems (1320-21). The question is whether the word is πάμμαχος, meaning "victor in combat sports," or whether the word is to be understood as παμμάχος, meaning "warrior par excellence." If the former, the title would suggest Athena's association with athletics at Sparta. The latter interpretation would suggest that the goddess has won a great struggle for all of Greece.⁵⁰ The solution, I believe, lies in understanding a pun which unifies both interpretations. In fact, Athena πάμμαχος is both the warrior goddess who has put an end to the conflict and the patron of the poet who seeks to be victor in the dramatic competition.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The temple of Athena χαλκίαιος was well-known to the Athenians (Thuc. 1.128.2, 134.1; E. *Hel.* 228, 245: Χαλκίαιον ὡς Ἀθάναν μόλοιμι' with Kannicht, ad loc.). For the location and appearance of the temple at Sparta, see Paus. 3.17.2; 10.5.11.

⁴⁹ It is uncertain whether this dedicatory inscription (ca. 450?-431 B.C.) was found in a wall of the monastery at Mistrae or among the ruins of the temple of Athena χαλκίαιος at Sparta (*CEG* 1, 378). See also Paus. 3.17.3 and E. *Hel.* 1466-77 with Kannicht's note.

⁵⁰ We cannot know for certain which of the accents is correct for this word. The reading πάμμαχος (favored by Wilamowitz, *Lysistrata*, ad 638) comically suggests that Athena is a victor in the *pancraton*. Cf. *Schol. Pind.*, N. 5.89 (citing Ister, *FGrH* 334 F31): ὅτι δὲ Θησεὺς παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς ἔμαθε τὴν πάλην. For Athena's athletic prowess, see Poliakoff, *Greek Combat Sports*, 74 n. 9. For the textual difficulties of the passage, see Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte*, 88-91; Srebrny, *Eos* 1961; Händel, *Formen*, 164-67 and Henderson, *Lysistrata*, ad 1321.

⁵¹ For the poet as athlete, see Lefkowitz, *Journal of Sport History* 1984, 18 ff.

That Athena should figure so prominently in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* is not surprising. Inscriptional evidence indicates that at the time of the play's production, the priestess of Athena Polias was named Lysimache, whose brother, it appears, had served as secretary to the Treasurers of Athena Polias in 416/15.⁵² The heroine's name is virtually a synonym for Lysimache, and it is known that this priestess served the goddess for sixty-four years. The likelihood of the audience not making the association of Lysistrata with Lysimache seems remote; and scholars have come to view Lysistrata herself as modeled after the Polias priestess.⁵³ If there are any doubts about this identification, they are removed by the heroine's remarks at 551-54. There, she tells her followers that if the women stand by their plan to withhold sex from their husbands, peace will come and all of them will be called Lysimachae:

ἀλλ' ἥνπερ ὁ (τε) γλυκύθυμος Ἔρωσ χή Κυπρογένει Ἀφροδίτῃ
 ἴμερον ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν καταπνεύσῃ,
 κᾶτ' ἐντέξῃ πέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ῥοπαλισμούς,
 οἶμαί ποτε Λυσιμάχας ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καλεῖσθαι. (551-54)

The connection between Lysistrata and Lysimache indicates that the comic heroine and her followers are not, as the men claim, impious invaders, but that they properly have a claim to the Acropolis where their sex performs time-honored duties and services on behalf of Athena and the city over which she presides.

Lysistrata and her followers prevail over the old veterans because they are able to usurp the men's exclusive and proprietary claims to Athena's Acropolis, and because they, in fact, represent the continuity of traditions and ancestral customs. The women have a more abiding claim than the men to be the patriotic defenders of Athens. Their roles as wives and mothers and as servants in the major cults of Athena and the other gods of the city ensure continuity in maintaining the essential values of the Athenians. For the women in the chorus, Athena lies at the heart of their triumph. In the final scene the Athenian aspects of the goddess seem

⁵² CEG 2 757. The brother of Lysimache was named Lysicles (LGPN 2, no. 20; PA 9322; Develin, *Athenian Officials*, 148).

⁵³ On the identification with Lysimache (first made by Lewis, *ABSA* 1955, 6-8), see Newiger, *YCS* 1980, 235-36; Foley, *CPh* 1982, 9-10; Henderson, *Lysistrata*, pp. xxxvii-xl. The name Lysimache is also associated with peace at *Pax* 991-92: λῦσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορυγὰς | ἵνα Λυσιμάχην σε καλῶμεν.

to become Panhellenic. The setting of the celebration on the Acropolis reminds the spectators of Athena's power and so of the Athenians' power to unify and lead the two major powers of Greece, Athens and Sparta, and return them to the path of reason, moderation and cooperation, qualities which according to the comic heroine had once characterized their relations (1124-56).

Chapter III

Athena in *Thesmophoriazusae*

Thesmophoriazusae, which was produced later in the same year as *Lysistrata*, also focuses on threats to the city, tyrants and Medizers, which are here comically equated with Euripides and the danger that he poses to the women of Athens.¹ As in *Lysistrata* the epithets of Athena play an important role in the crossing of male boundaries by women, which is such an important part of the play's action. The epithets of Athena in *Thesmophoriazusae* allow Aristophanes to create a significant link between the political situation of 411 B. C., the impending oligarchic coup by the Four Hundred, and the comic treatment of Euripides. Political concerns, especially fears about the survival of the democracy, provide a backdrop to the dramatic action. Aristophanes uses the epithets as part of an extended joke based on the analogy of the demos of the Athenians fending off would-be tyrants and Medizers. These epithets present Athena as the champion of the real demos, which saves the city from medizing tyrants, and as the champion of the chorus of women, which saves its demos from Euripides. Aristophanes' purpose in this play is not primarily political; rather he seeks to heighten the comic effect for its own sake. Thus he exploits the comic possibilities posed by the current political situation.²

The first level of this joke is seen in the portrayal of the women of Athens assembling at the Thesmophoria to decide what to do about

¹ The scholarly consensus is that *Thesmophoriazusae* was performed in the early spring of 411 at the City Dionysia and *Lysistrata* earlier in the same year at the Lenaea (Sommerstein, *JHS* 1977; *HCT* 5 184-93; Westlake, *Phoenix* 1980; Henderson, *Lysistrata*, pp. xv-xxv). The arguments of Vickers, *Historia* 1989, who dates *Thesmophoriazusae* to 410, depend far too much on supposed covert allusions to Alcibiades to be convincing; see Hubbard, *Mask*, 243-46.

² For discussions of the political background and events surrounding the oligarchic revolution of 411, see n. 1 above, and Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 334-58.

Euripides, their arch-foe. They are incensed by the poet's treatment of their sex in his tragedies. Aristophanes casts the conflict between the women and Euripides in political terms. Thus the chorus of women celebrates the Thesmophoria near the Pnyx (658), where it appears the festival was traditionally convened,³ and frequently assumes the character of the Athenian ecclesia; comically the women even include Euripides in their parody of traditional curses against enemies of the state (335-39).⁴ In the first part of the play Euripides sends a male relative disguised as a woman to argue on his behalf. The second part of the action concerns Euripides' attempts to rescue his relative from the women after the ruse has been discovered.⁵

Athena is invoked by the chorus of women at two points in the comedy. The first occurs in the ode of the parodos, where the gathering of the women, in parody of a real assembly, summons Athena among several gods to join its ecclesia (312-30). The second passage comes at the climax of the play just before Euripides proposes peace to the female demos (1136-59). These two songs, especially the second, are remarkable for the prominence given to Athena through her epithets, nine in all; no other deity is endowed with so many epithets in *Thesmophoriazusae*, not even Demeter and Persephone, in whose honor the feast was held.⁶

As the portrayal of the celebration begins, the chorus of women, upon hearing the herald's prayer for a successful meeting, summons

³ *Schol. Ar., Th.*, ad loc. For location of the Thesmophorion near the Pnyx, see Thompson, *Hesperia* 1936.

⁴ The female herald begins her proclamation:

Εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύει τι τῷ δήμῳ κακὸν
τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ 'πικηρυκεύεται
Εὐριπίδῃ Μήδοις (τ') ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τινὶ
τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ τυραννεῖν ἐπινοεῖ
ἢ τὸν τύραννον συγκατάγειν... (335-39)

See Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 33-40; Horn, *Gebet und Gebetsparodie*, 106-15; Haldane, *Philologus* 1965, 43 ff.

⁵ The relative is called Mnesilochus in the sigla and the play's scholia, but he is not named in the text, and his identification as Euripides' father-in-law is probably a theory introduced by a later commentator (*RE* suppl. 12 1470-71; Dover, *Comedy*, 165).

⁶ For the celebration of the festival in Athens, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 50-60; Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 82-88; Simon, *Festivals*, 18-22.

deities customarily addressed at the opening of the Athenian ecclesia rather than at the festival itself.⁷ Having invoked Zeus, the women summon Athena with a string of four epithets, παγκρατής, κόρα, γλαυκῶπις and χρυσόλογχος:

καὶ σύ, παγκρατὲς κόρα γλαυκ-
 ὠπι χρυσόλογχε πόλιν οἰ-
 κοῦσα περιμάχητον, ἔλθῃ δεῦρο. (317-19)

At first sight the invocation seems to be simply part of an inclusive list of deities; the chorus appears merely to extend an open invitation to the gods. The epithets used to invoke the other deities of this list, namely Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, Nereids and Nymphs, are entirely conventional. The epithets μεγαλόνυμος (315), πολυνόνυμος (321), and σεμνός (323), characterizing Zeus, Leto, and Poseidon, respectively, for example, are neutral titles that could be applied to almost any deity,⁸ even those epithets that seem to be more specific, such as Apollo χρυσολύρας (315) or Poseidon ποντομεδών (322), refer only to the deities' favorite haunts or mythological domains.⁹ But the epithets used to summon Athena bring this goddess into particular prominence. Παγκρατής is attested nowhere else with Athena, either in literature or in dedicatory inscriptions. The rare χρυσόλογχος appears elsewhere only in Euripides' *Ion* (8-9). The epithets κόρα and γλαυκῶπις are of course a familiar combination in epic poetry, but simultaneously the pair has a distinctive Athenian ring as well.

The initial impression given by the passage is of the traditional Athena of epic poetry. Γλαυκῶπις in particular conjures up this Athena,

⁷ Cf. *SIG*³ 181, 6 ff: Πελρίανδρος εἶπε[ν]· εὖξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μάλ᾽ αὖ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι..., and Antiphon (6.45): καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας ἱερὸν ἔστι καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται. Rhodes, *Athenian Boule*, 36-37, regards the ceremonial procedures of both assemblies essentially to have been the same.

⁸ On the titles μεγαλόνυμος (315) and πολυνόνυμος (320), see Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 46-47. For examples of the title σεμνός (322) with deities, see LSI s.v.

⁹ Haldane, who focuses on the literary and stylistic features of the scene, says little about any of the epithets (*Philologus* 1965, 42). For epithets formed from the χρυσ- element, see Chapter II, p. 45 n. 23. Poseidon's epithet ἄλιμέδων (323) is a variant on the more usual ποντομεδών (LSI s.v. ποντομεδών).

while the four asyndetic epithets are a typical Homeric convention.¹⁰ On this level the epithets seem to be unremarkable. But closer examination of the individual epithets suggests that Aristophanes' purpose is more complex. Aristophanes singles Athena out from the other deities invoked by the chorus, and systematically chooses the titles of Athena in order to juxtapose her dual aspects as martial deity and patron goddess of Athens. The epithet *παγκρατής* might seem conventional at first sight, alluding to the great power that the goddess enjoys as the daughter of Zeus. However, as noted above, this passage represents the single attestation of the epithet *παγκρατής* as an appellative of Athena.¹¹ The terms commonly used to invoke Athena in assembly prayers are *Πολιάς* or *Βουλαία* (see above, n. 7); moreover, Athena is not normally invoked with multiple epithets, as she is here. *Παγκρατής*, in fact, is regularly reserved to describe Zeus in Athenian literature, and occurs several times in tragedy to characterize him in his role as protector or avenger.¹² Indeed, the single other attestation of *παγκρατής* in Aristophanes involves Zeus, and it occurs in the following ode of this same play. The women invoke Zeus to ratify their various curses against enemies of their demos (352-71). By applying the epithet *παγκρατής* to both deities, Aristophanes brings Athena and Zeus together as powerful protectors of the demos of women against its enemies, whose number includes Medizers, would-be tyrants, tattle-tales, and Euripides.¹³

The role of Athena as patron and defender of the city is again reflected in the next two epithets, *κόρα* and *γλαυκῶπις*. These titles are also seemingly conventional and ornamental in their function. *Κόρα*

¹⁰ For the accumulation of epithets, see Bühler, *Europa des Moschus*, on line 142, pp. 212-15; West, *Theogony*, on line 320 and 925; Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, 158-59; Janko, *Homer and Hesiod*, 258 n. 71.

¹¹ We may recall here the emphasis on Athena's power as *πάμμαχος* at *Lys.* 1321.

¹² For literary attestations of *παγκρατής* with Zeus, see *A. Th.* 255 (the chorus calls on Zeus to protect Thebes from its enemies), *Eu.* 916 (the chorus declares that Zeus guards Pallas' city), *Supp.* 816 (the suppliants summon Zeus *παγκρατής* to honor them), *S. Ph.* 679 (the chorus recalls the story of Zeus *παγκρατής* punishing Ixion), *TrGF* 4, fr. 684.4 (E. fr. 431 N²). Preliminary sacrifices called for in the Themistocles Decree are ordered for Zeus *παγκρατής*, Athena and Nike, and Poseidon *ἀσφάλειος* before manning the fleet (*ML* 23, lines 38-40).

¹³ Aristophanes also draws attention to Athena and Zeus as joint defenders of the city in *Knights* (Chapter I, p. 31 n. 74).

alludes to Athena's maidenhood, and in connection with the epithet *παγκρατής* emphasizes her special status and power as the daughter of Zeus. The epic and martial associations of the epithet *γλαυκῶπις* are well-known.¹⁴ But it is surprising, except for the appearance of the pair here in Aristophanes, that the combination *κόρα* and *γλαυκῶπις* is not found elsewhere in fifth-century Athenian drama.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the invocation would strike a familiar cord for the Athenian audience inasmuch as the pair appears in numerous dedicatory inscriptions to the goddess on the Acropolis.¹⁶ Hence the audience would recognize the special significance of *κόρα γλαυκῶπις* as evoking Athena in her role as tutelary goddess of the city, and appreciate the allusion to their cult practice.¹⁷

The last epithet of the series, *χρυσόλογχος*, alludes again to Athena in her role of guardian and defender of the city, a role made explicit by the accompanying play on her title *πολιοῦχος*: πόλιν οἱ ἰκοῦσα (317-18). Unlike *κόρα* and *γλαυκῶπις*, *χρυσόλογχος* seems unusual. The title does not appear in cultic dedications, and is only twice attested in Greek literature, here and in the prologue of Euripides' *Ion* (8-9), where it also refers to Athena in her role of protectress of the city.¹⁸ The epithet in our passage is striking for its evocation of the visual arts: it suggests a specific allusion to the colossal bronze statue of Athena Pro-

¹⁴ The titles appear in combination, although not always in the same order or metrical position, in seven passages: Hom. *Il.* 10.553, 24.26; *Od.* 2.433, 24.518; *h. Hom. Ven.* 8; Hes. *Th.* 13, 895.

¹⁵ *γλαυκῶπις* itself occurs only once in tragedy, appearing in connection with Athena and the "ever-watchful eye of Zeus Morios" (S. *OC* 705-06). The combination *κόρα* and *γλαυκῶπις* appears elsewhere in fifth-century literature at Pi. *N.* 7.96.

¹⁶ *CEG* 1. 181 (column dedication, ca. 600-575?), 183-84 (marble bowl, ca. 575?), 203 (pillar dedication, ca. 510-500?), 434 (bronze stele, ca. 566), 435 (bronze stele, ca. 562), all at line end. *CEG* 1. 434-35 are apparently the earliest dedications commemorating the Panathenaic festival (cf. *DAA* pp. 350-58). For the title *κόρη* with Athena (always in combination with *Διός*), cf. *CEG* 1. 180, 195, 203, 212, 215, 237, 248, all in metrical contexts.

¹⁷ The root *γλαυκ-* also calls to mind the owl, the sacred bird of the city goddess, whose glance in the representational arts was regarded as a kind of "positive" *gorgoneion*, bringing the blessings of peace, strength and prosperity to the city (Simon, *Götter*, 207). Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, 148 ff., successfully argues that the connection with *γλαῦξ* (owl, Athena's bird) is primary and that hence, by necessity, *γλαυκῶπις* has an Athenian flavor. The connection of the title with *γλαυκός* (flashing), Leumann shows, is secondary.

¹⁸ Hermes declares: ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις, ἡ τῆς χρυσολόγχου Παλλάδος κεκλεμένη (8-9).

machus. This famous image held a spear-tip that radiated brightly from the Acropolis, and, as we have noted in *Lysistrata*, symbolized the peace, order and wealth ensured by the goddess.¹⁹ The epithets *παγκρατής*, *κόρα*, *γλαυκῶπις* and *χρυσόλογχος* together evoke Athena as the powerful patron goddess of the city; in the context of the prayer she changes from being merely a deity participating in a festival to one comically protecting the women like a real *demos* from their foes. At the same time, the martial connotation of the epithets is retained: the goddess will defend Athens against the Medes, and of course she will assist the *demos* of women against Euripides, the almost-Mede (cf. 335-39). Even the characterization of the city as *περιμάχητον*, which is used here in its extended sense of “surrounded by battle,” absurdly shifts the focus of the women’s prayer to a war of the sexes. The joke to a large extent links the women’s conflict with Euripides, a battle of the sexes, with the real dangers threatening Athens in 411.

The epithets of Athena in this first ode evoke a distinct image of the goddess as patron of the city and of the democracy in particular. Aristophanes exploits the inevitable associations that the chorus’ view of Euripides as an enemy to their *demos* would have for the Athenian audience in an uncertain political climate. Thus in a series of curses the Coryphaea includes Euripides among such traditional enemies of the state as Medes, tyrant-lovers and oligarchs (335-39). This particular scene could be interpreted as merely humorous, with Euripides equated with state enemies; the scene becomes ridiculous when the Coryphaea then proceeds to curse anyone who interferes with the women’s sexual freedom (339-51), thereby undercutting any interpretation of this joke as a criticism of the current political situation. But when the chorus echoes the theme of cursing Medizers and oligarchs in the following lyrics (352-71) without mentioning Euripides, the tone again becomes mock serious and points to concern for the democracy. The invocation of Zeus as *παγκρατής* to ratify the women’s imprecations maintains this serious tone.²⁰

After the parabasis (785-845), the women drop their guise as members of a political assembly, and they explicitly identify themselves as

¹⁹ For the Promachus statue, see Chapter II, p. 45.

²⁰ See Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 357-58 for the “ominous” undertones of both these curses and the ones that are uttered toward the end of the play (1143-46).

females celebrating the Thesmophoria (947-48), thus returning to their original character.²¹ The passage containing the second invocation to Athena marks the reintroduction of the assembly joke, and comes at the climax of the play (1136-59), just before Euripides capitulates to the demos of women (1160-63). Aristophanes uses the summons to Athena to reintroduce the original characterization of the chorus as a mock demos, thereby again linking Euripides, just before he surrenders, with Athens' real enemies. Thus Aristophanes uses the epithets as a means of exploiting the comic opportunities that are inherent in the interplay between the two roles of the chorus.

The invocation consists of three distinct parts (1136-42, 1143-44 and 1145-47); the first contains five epithets of Athena, φιλόχορος, παρθένος, ἄζυξ, κούρη and κληδοῦχος. The chorus of women sings:

Παλλάδα τὴν φιλόχορον ἐμοὶ
 δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος εἰς χορόν,
 παρθένον ἄζυγα κούρην,
 ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει
 καὶ κράτος φανερόν μόνῃ
 κληδοῦχος τε καλεῖται. (1136-42)

At first sight this invocation, like the previous one, seems traditional and unremarkable. But here too several of the epithets emphasize Athena's particular connection with the chorus' concern about the democracy. The first epithet, φιλόχορος, which is attested in association with Athena only here, links the goddess to the chorus of women both extra-dramatically and as a participant in their dance at the Thesmophoria itself. This link is anticipated by the earlier use of the epithet in the choral song at lines 988-89. In this single other instance of the title in Aristophanes, the chorus invites Dionysus ("Bacchic lord") and his revelers, κῶμοι φιλόχοροι, to attend its festive songs.²² The

²¹ The Coryphaea urges the chorus: "Ἄγε νυν ἡμεῖς παίσωμεν ἅπερ νόμος ἐνθάδε ταῖσι γυναιξίν, ἵταν ὄργια σεμνὰ θεοῖν ἱεραῖς ὥραις ἀνέχωμεν (947-48).

²² The chorus of celebrants sings:

Ἦγον δὲ γ' ὦδε αὐτός
 κισσοφόρε Βακχεῖε
 δεσποτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ κῶμοις
 σὲ φιλοχόροις μέλπω. (987-89).

repetition of the epithet φιλόχορος therefore includes Athena as an especially prominent guest both at the make-believe festival of the Thesmophoria and at the real dramatic festival, the City Dionysia.

It is not of course unusual for a chorus to summon deities to its dance.²³ The title φιλόχορος is attested in several other places: the invocation to Dionysus in this same play (989); in connection with Hymenaeus (wedding dances) at Euripides, *IA* 1037, and again at Aeschylus, *Pers.* 448; and in connection with dances celebrated in honor of Pan on Psyttalea in the Piraeus harbor (Paus. 1. 36.2). This title is entirely appropriate for women's dancing. Hence the claim on the part of the women that it is their custom to do so (ἐμοὶ ἰ δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος) seems conventional. But the normal custom at the festival of the Thesmophoria is to call on Demeter and Persephone, and, in fact, the women do this later in the prayer (1148-59). Athena may or may not have been part of the actual Thesmophoria celebration. But that she should receive such prominence in this invocation is striking and should be understood in the context of the assembly joke. When the women claim the practice of inviting Athena as their own, they are no longer just female celebrants at the festival, but stand-ins for those who would normally call on Athena at an assembly, namely the Athenian ecclesia. Thus the epithet and phrase reintroduce the double focus that persists throughout the passage, that is, the portrayal of the chorus of celebrants as a political assembly.²⁴

The three epithets, παρθένος, ἄζυξ and κόρη,²⁵ all emphasize Athena's maidenhood. They also stress the goddess's natural affinity as a female with the women's chorus, an emphasis quite appropriate in the context of an exclusively female festival which has been violated by Euripides' male relative. The appeal to Athena as παρθένος also has a civic aspect, calling to mind the Parthenos cult statue, which was a

²³ For other Aristophanic invitations to deities to join the choral dance, see Chapter I, p. 10.

²⁴ For *Th.* 1136-59 (astrophic) as copying tragic technique, cf. the parodies of Euripidean songs in *Ra.* 1309-63 (West, *Greek Metre*, 116 n. 101; Zimmermann, *Form und Technik*, vol. 2, 201-03).

²⁵ For examples of παρθένος and κόρη/κούρη see Bruchmann, *Epitheta*, s.v. 'Αθηνᾶ. Ἄζυξ (a common metaphor for unmarried) also occurs as an epithet of Athena at *E. Tr.* (536): Ἄζυγος ἀμβροτοπώλου. Euripides seems to be especially fond of the term (*Hipp.* 546, *IA* 805, *Med.* 673, *Ba.* 694).

powerful symbol of the Athenian democracy.²⁶ The confusion over the chorus' role has come so far that as soon as the women finish their song, Euripides proposes peace in terms that are reminiscent of the way a foreign enemy would propose a treaty (1160-63).²⁷ This is not to say that the oligarchs should likewise propose peace to the real demos, but that the demos of women has comically asserted its right to act like the real demos.

As the second prayer proceeds it focuses on Athena in her role of defender of Athens, just as the earlier invocation to the goddess had (317-19). The chorus etymologizes the title πολιοῦχος (πόλιν... ἔχει, 1140), and recalls the epithet παγκρατής by characterizing Athena as the only goddess to have manifest power over their city (πόλιν ἡμετέραν | ἔχει | καὶ κράτος φανερόν μόνῃ, 1140-41). These lines too have their conventional aspect; the characterization of Athena as the single deity (μόνῃ) to possess this power reflects a traditional element of Greek prayers and hymns.²⁸ The epithet κληδοῦχος (1142), however, precisely defines the extent and source of Athena's power.²⁹ Κληδοῦχος, like many of the previous titles, is attested in connection with Athena only in this play. In addition, it pointedly recalls a passage in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (827-28), where Athena declares that she alone controls the keys to the armory of Zeus: καὶ κληίδας οἶδα δώματος

²⁶ See the discussion of the Parthenos statue in Chapter I, p. 28.

²⁷ Euripides proposes to the women:

Γυναῖκες, εἰ βούλεσθε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον
σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι πρὸς ἐμέ, νυνὶ πάρα,
ἐφ' ᾧ τ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδαμὰ
κακὸν τὸ λοιπόν. Ταῦτ' ἐπικηρυκεύομαι. (1160-63)

For ἐπικηρυκεύομαι, "to propose a treaty of peace," see Thuc. 2.19.1, 4.27.2; Hdt. 4.80.4, 6.97.2. The poet's ἐπικηρυκεύομαι here echoes the ἐπικηρυκεύομαι of the Coryphaea, as she utters her curses against Euripides, Medes and other enemies of the State (336). Thus this verb (which does not occur elsewhere in the play) serves to frame the conflict between the women and Euripides.

²⁸ The insistence that one deity alone possesses power to perform a certain function is a traditional element of Greek prayers and hymns (Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 35-36; Barrett, *Hippolytus*, ad 1280; Koenen, *Codex Manichaicus*, 32-33).

²⁹ Cf. the chorus' address to Hera: κληῖδας γάμον φυλάττει (976). The epithet is used of the deity or person who holds the keys and so controls admission to a place (Pi. *P.* 9.39 [Peitho]; A. *Supp.* 291 [priestess of Hera]; E. *IT* 131 [Hera], *Hipp.* 540 [Eros]; Plu. 2. 591b [Moirai]).

μόνη θεῶν | ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.³⁰ By choosing this particular epithet Aristophanes emphasizes Athena's dual role as participant in the chorus' celebration and as defender of the chorus of women/demos against its enemies.

In the second part of the invocation the distinction between Athena's two roles all but disappears, so that her defense of the women against their enemies is identified explicitly with her traditional role of defending the city. Even though this section does not contain any epithets of the goddess, nowhere else in the play is Athena's role as defender of the Athenian demos more palpable (Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 357-58). Invoking her as a "hater of tyrants," the chorus sings:

Φάνηθ', ᾧ τυράννου
στυγοῦσ', ὥσπερ εἰκός. (1143-44)

This section has attracted the attention of scholars for several reasons. The invocation consists of a series of dactylic and aeolic lines, whereas the two lines quoted above are the only bacchiacs in the song, and they are not paralleled in the antistrophe.³¹ Moreover, it seems surprising that Aristophanes should need to remind the audience that Athena hates tyrants.³² But the portrayal of Athena as "hater of tyrants" recalls both the earlier curses of the female herald (335-39), where Euripides, the Medes and potential tyrants are classed together as common enemies, and the curses of the chorus in the prayer to Zeus (351-67). This appeal emphasizes to the audience the growing threat that oligarchs and would-be tyrants pose to the real demos. But by highlighting Athena's function as the defender of the Athenian demos, Aristophanes takes the comic portrayal of Euripides to its absurd conclusion.

³⁰ See the discussion of Wilamowitz, *Verskunst*, 591-92.

³¹ Dale, *Lyric Meters*, 166-67, writes of these lines: "Only the bacchiac line, the cry to Athena, arrests the quick movement and strikes a note of sudden gravity—the year was 411 B. C."

³² The notion that Athena hates tyranny seems of course conventional. But Sommerstein, *JHS* 1977, 122, reminds us [that] "in *Th.*, as has before now been noted, things are very different. The chorus pray and curse against tyranny with real feeling (338f., 1143f.)." But other scholars rightly caution against so specific an interpretation of the reference to tyranny, and instead understand it as alluding to public anxiety about oligarchy in general (Dover, *Comedy*, 171-72; *HCT* 5 192-93).

The third component of the invocation emphasizes the complete merging of the chorus's two roles—the chorus is a *demos*, that much is clear, but unexpectedly a *demos* of women that now comically is the authoritative *demos* of Athens. The song continues:

Δῆμός τοί σε καλεῖ γυναι-
κῶν· ἔχουσα δέ μοι μόλοις
εἰρήνην φιλέορτον. (1145-47)

The first word of this section, Δῆμος, suggests that the chorus of women is still in the role of the Athenian *demos*; only when we hear the qualification, γυναικῶν do we realize that it is a *demos* of women and festival of women who is singing. Thus the invocation ends with the women calling on Athena in their role as celebrants of the festival. The earlier reference to Athena's "love of festive dance" (1136) is here echoed by the characterization of her as possessing "peace that loves festivals" (ἔχουσα δέ μοι μόλοις | εἰρήνην φιλέορτον, 1146-47). Aristophanes skillfully allows the women themselves to establish the integrity of their *demos*.

The epithets of Athena in lines 1136-47, like those of lines 317-19, dramatically exploit the ambiguity between the chorus of women in its struggle against Euripides and the real *demos* in its struggle against its enemies. Athena maintains her interest in dance and song and her special affinity as a female with the women's *demos*. At the same time, the emphasis on her access to power and her natural hatred for tyrants (ὥσπερ εἰκός, 1144) recalls the earlier curses of the women against Medes and other enemies of their *demos* (335-39 and 356-67). The final political image of Athena for the audience's consideration is that of tyrant-hater.

Aristophanes accords to Athena a limited prominence in *Thesmophoriazusae*. The goddess is mentioned only in two invocations by the chorus of women, and, in contrast to *Knights* and *Lysistrata*, she does not figure significantly into the dramatic action. Even so, Aristophanes' characterization of Athena plays an important role in the way in which he exploits the current political climate as a backdrop for the absurd and ridiculous action of the play. The Athena invoked by the chorus of women is the powerful martial deity both in the context of actual contemporary political turmoil and in the fictitious world of the comic action: as a war goddess she is at once portrayed as the defender of her city

against traditional enemies, Medes and tyrant-lovers, and she is shown to be the special patroness of the women in their war against Euripides. As the traditional provider and guardian of peace, order and prosperity to the city, she is the steadfast ally of the women in their war against the men, whether on the dramatic stage or at home.

The poet here presents Athena as the champion of the city, as we have seen in the other two plays, and absurdly reduces her to champion of the women against the likes of Euripides. In contrast to the other two plays examined in this study, the dramatic action in *Thesmophoriazusae* does not center on competing visions about Athena and her relationship to her city. Instead, the central theme of the play is an extended joke, the equation of Euripides as an enemy of Athenian women with forces threatening the Athenian democracy. Thus the portrayal of Athena is not “political” in the same way that it is in the other plays. Instead of offering a vision, however comic and absurd, of the true values of the Athenians, the poet in the *Thesmophoriazusae* is content to exploit nervousness about a turbulent political situation to accomplish a completely apolitical goal, that is, to hold up the playwright Euripides to ridicule and to subject some of Euripides’ more contrived plots to extended parody.

Chapter IV

Athena in the Remaining Plays

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that Aristophanes uses epithets to characterize Athena in the dramas that I have examined in a manner that is qualitatively different from the other comedies. Epithets of Athena also occur in *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Peace*, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*.¹ With the exception of *Clouds*, epithets of the goddess in these plays, like those of the other gods, function occasionally; they are not part of a sustained treatment of the goddess as they are in *Knights*, *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. Rather Athena's epithets occur in isolated passages, arise out of the immediate comic situation, and do not form part of any discernible overarching pattern.

Clouds

The main subject of *Clouds*, which is a partially revised version of the original play performed at the City Dionysia in 423 B. C., is the growth and popularity of new and untraditional forms of education, especially education in rhetoric. The plot revolves around Strepsiades' attempts to educate first himself and then his profligate son Phidippides in the sophistic methods taught by Socrates and his associates. Epithets to be discussed occur in two passages, the parabatic antode and the agon between the opposing λόγοι; in both passages Athena's titles momentarily illuminate central aspects of the comedy.

The first epithets of Athena to be examined appear in the antode of the parabasis.² In the preceding ode the cloud-deities pray to gods of

¹ For problems associated with the attribution of σότεια to Athena at *Ra.* 378, see Dover, *Frogs*, ad loc.

² The first mention of Athena occurs when the cloud-chorus sings traditional praises of the "land of Pallas" in the antode of the parados: παρθένοι ὀμβροφόροι, ἔλθωμεν λιπαρὰν χθονά Παιλλάδος, εὖανδρον γὰρ ἰ Κέκροπος ὀψεμέναι πολυ-

nature and cosmic forces, Zeus, Poseidon, Aether and Helios, to join their dance (563-74).³ The song of the antode, on the other hand, reflects a different perspective on the part of the chorus (595-606). The focus here shifts to the point of view of human worshippers rather than cloud-deities; each of the four gods invoked, Apollo, Artemis, Athena and Dionysus, is connected to well-known cult-places and particular localities.⁴ Although these songs reflect two distinct points of view, the prayers themselves function to support the topic of the parabasis proper (518-62), namely, victory for the poet in this version of the play.⁵ The chorus sings to Athena:

ἢ τ' ἐπιχώριος ἡμετέρα θεὸς
αἰγίδος ἡνίοχος, πολιοῦχος Ἀθάνα (601-02)

This characterization of Athena stresses her tutelary interest in the protection of the city (πολιοῦχος) as well as in the success of the chorus and poet, who had lost an earlier battle, namely the first *Clouds* in 423. Indeed, the phrase ἐπιχώριος ἡμετέρα θεός, “our native goddess,” implies that the chorus sings to the goddess from the perspective of Athenian citizens.⁶ The epithet ἡνίοχος (unattested elsewhere with Athena) is here used metaphorically with αἰγίδος to represent her martial power and invincibility. Like the other epithets of Athena in the prayer, this title stresses the close association of the poet with the goddess. Just

ἦρατον (298-300). Athena is also addressed as Παλλάς by the debtor at 1265 in an apparent parody of Xenocles' *Licymnius* (Rau, *Paratragodia*, 191).

³ Zeus, ὑψιμέδοντα...θεῶν | ...τύραννον... | ... μέγαν (563-65); Poseidon, μεγασθενὴ τριαίνης ταμίαν... | ...θαλάσσης ἄγριον μολευτήν (566-68); Aether, μεγαλώνυμον. | ...σεμνότατον βιοθρέμμονα πάντων (569-70); Helios, ἱππονώμαν. | ...μέγας ἐν θεοῖς | ἐν θωητοῖσι τε δαίμων (571-74). For discussion of the passage, see Scodel, *CPh* 1987, 334-35. For the metrical and structural similarities of the parabatic ode and antode and the close connection of these songs to traditional cult-poetry, see Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, 196-98.

⁴ Apollo as lord of Delos, Artemis as goddess of Ephesus, Athena as patron goddess of Athens and Dionysus as he was worshipped at Parnassus and Delphi.

⁵ The original version of *Clouds*, which Aristophanes regarded as one of his best works (*Ve.* 1044-47), was poorly received by the judges, placing third in the competition; the *Pytine* of Cratinus was the winner, second prize was awarded to Amipsias' *Connus* (Arg. 1). For the debate over what passages represent revisions (and what do not) of the original *Clouds*, see Hubbard, *CLAnt* 1986, 183-85. The revised version, probably written in the period 419-417, was most likely not performed (Dover, *Clouds*, lxxx-lxxxi).

⁶ Ἐπιχώριος is commonly used to denote the “people of the country, natives” (LSJ s.v.); this passage appears to be the single extant use of the term with a deity.

as the city goddess is a "charioteer" in full control of the aegis, her special instrument of power, so the comic poet here exercises control over his own artistic material as he drives the comedy to victory.⁷

Moreover, the image of Athena as charioteer calls to mind the well-known Herodotean story of Athena/Φυή, who outfitted in full panoply, drives the tyrant Pisistratus back to the Acropolis on her chariot.⁸ Just as the goddess is there said to bring back the triumphant Pisistratus, so now she may be envisioned as accompanying the triumphant poet as he returns to claim victory. Indeed, this image is similar to that which occurs at the end of *Birds*, where the comic hero, Pisthetaerus, is portrayed as a tyrant returning victoriously on a chariot in the company of his new bride, Basileia.⁹ If this interpretation is correct, we may see then a kind of self-irony on the part of the poet in which he equates his artistic success in the second version of *Clouds* with the triumphant return of the tyrant Pisistratus. When the singers conclude the song with a summons to Dionysus as κωμαστής, "reveller" (606), the self-referential aspect of the antode is complete. That the audience would recognize here a meta-theatrical allusion is certain; Dionysus is the special deity of the comic poet (519), and it is in his honor that Aristophanes presents his work at the festival.¹⁰

⁷ Cf. *Ve.* 1021-22: φανερώς ἤδη κινδυνεύων καθ' ἑαυτόν, | οὐκ ἄλλοτρίων ἄλλ' οἰκείων μουσῶν στόμαθ' ἠνιοχήσας (with Kock, *Nu.*, ad 602); for the metaphor applied to tragic poets, cf. *IG* 2² 6626: ἠνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς. Dover's interpretation of the phrase αἰγίδος ἠνίοχος seems to me to go too far. He suggests that Athena "travels by flapping the aegis." For the aegis as Athena's special instrument of terror on the battlefield, see discussion of the epithet φοβεριστράτη in Chapter I, p. 26.

⁸ Hdt. 1.60.4. For Athena riding in a chariot, cf. *Il.* 5. 70 ff; where Hera is the ἠνίοχος and Athena fastens her aegis with the *gorgoneion*; Yalouris, *MH* 1950, 66-78; Boardman, *RA* 1972, 57 ff., *JHS* 1989, 158-59; cf. *LIMC* 2.2, pl. 176 (Athena drives herself alone), pl. 177 (Athena with Hera as charioteer), and pl. 179 (Athena alone). For discussion of the social, political and ceremonial aspects of the Athena/Φυή story in Herodotus, see Connor, *JHS* 1987, 42-47.

⁹ For the wedding scene of Pisthetaerus and Basileia (*Av.* 1706 ff.) and the association of the comic hero Pisthetaerus with tyranny, see Hofmann, *Mythos und Komödie*, 138-60. Thus, the poet and Athena are comically replaced on the chariot by the comic hero and Basileia. For the discussion of the name Pisthetaerus and its identification with the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus, see Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy*, 160; Reckford, *Old & New Comedy*, 333.

¹⁰ νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἐκθρέψαντά με (519). Cf. *Pl. Smp.* 177E: Ἀριστοφάνης, ὃ περὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην πᾶσα ἡ διατριβή. The end of this anti-strophe may be compared to the antode of the parodos (298-313), which also ends with

The second passage to be examined is the agon between the opposing λόγοι (967). Of the several epithets of Athena that appear in this section, the first are introduced as examples of the kind of curriculum once taught to the youth of Athens. The epithets, Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν, "Pallas frightful sacker-of-cities," reflect the title of a song composed by either Steisichorus (late sixth century) or Lamprocles (early fifth century). While the authorship of the poem is uncertain, the title Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν indicates that the piece dealt with epic and heroic themes.¹¹ The κρείττων λόγος of course selects the title because it is representative of the kind of disciplined and rigorous training that, in his view, had inspired the Marathon-fighters to perform their heroic deeds (985-86).

The final epithet to be examined in the play, τριτογένεια (989), is by now familiar to the reader.¹² The title immediately follows the reference of the κρείττων λόγος to the Marathon-fighters and again focuses attention on Athena's martial aspects. The proponent of the old-style education complains to the ἥττων λόγος about the poor physical condition of the young men currently competing in pyrrhic dances held in honor of Athena at the Panathenaea. Athenian youths performed these dances naked except for helmet, shield, and spear as they imitated the movements of hoplites in combat.¹³ In contrast to the manly and vigorous young dancers of his day, the youth trained under the new education, the κρείττων λόγος declares, are weak and effeminate:

σὺ δὲ τοὺς νῦν εὐθύς ἐν ἱματίοισι διδάσκεις ἐντετυλίχθαι,
ὥστε μ' ἀπάγχεσθ' ὅταν ὀρχεῖσθαι Παναθηναίοις δέον αὐτοὺς
τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κωλῆς προέχων ἀμελῇ τις Τριτογένειης. (987-89)

The κρείττων λόγος seems to introduce this solemn and ancient title (note the epic form of the genitive) to stress Athena's filial relation—an invocation to Dionysus at whose festival the play is performed (Sommerstein, *Clouds*, 595-606). Cf. also the choral allusion to the city Dionysia at the end of the antode of the parodos (311-12).

¹¹ The testimonia are collected by Page under Lamprocles (*PMG* 735). It is most probable that both poets wrote a song that began Παλλάς περσέπολις (see Dover, ad 967; D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne* 1952, 231 n. 1). The epithet περσέπολις is also attested with Athena at Call. *Lav. Pall.* 43.

¹² See Chapter I, pp. 32-33; Chapter II, pp. 46-47.

¹³ Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 7.815a; see also Latte, *De Saltationibus*, 56 ff.; Borthwick, *Hermes* 1969, *Hermes* 1970; Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 36 pl. 7.

ship to Zeus whose ancient festival, the Dipoliea, the ἥττων λόγος has just ridiculed (984-85).¹⁴ Moreover, unlike the passages in *Knights* and *Lysistrata* where the martial associations of the title are secondary, the appearance of τριτογέννης here is appropriate to the complaint against the young men's negligence in pursuit of military training. At the same time, moreover, these remarks seem to contain an ad hoc joke, apparently independent of the particular epithet. Since the boys of the younger generation lack the physical strength to keep their shields raised up, the lower part (κωλῇ) of the performers is no longer visible to the spectators. Thus Athena is comically imagined to be deprived (ἀμελῇ Τριτογένειας) of the pleasure of seeing what in fact the κρείττων λόγος would like to see.¹⁵

Birds

We might expect Athena to play a prominent role in *Birds*, since the comedy concerns the establishment of a new polis. But Athena occurs in only one passage, and even then she is appears under familiar stock titles. Explanations for the absence of Athena may be found in the fact that *Birds*, unlike *Knights* and *Lysistrata*, does not deal with a competition for control and salvation of the city. Rather the protagonists of this play wish to establish an entirely new polis in which the patronage of Athena is taken for granted.¹⁶

The two epithets to be discussed in this play, πολιοῦχος and πολιάς, occur in the exchange between Pisthetaerus, the chorus and Euelpides concerning the location of the new city (823-31).¹⁷ Pisthetaerus compares the site that lies before them to the mythical plain of Phlegra, "where the gods completely overshot the Giants in bragging:"

¹⁴ For the epic form of the title, see Dover, *Clouds*, 614. The Dipoliea (the oldest of all Athenian festivals) was celebrated in honor of Zeus Polieus (Paus. 1.24.4; Porph. *Abst.* 2.10, 29-31). Cf. Meuli, *Opferbräuche*, 275-77, *GesSch* 2, 907 ff.; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 136-43.

¹⁵ For κωλῇ, *membrum virile*, see Charitonides, *Aporrheta*, 42; Henderson, *Maculate Muse*, 129.

¹⁶ It is assumed, for example, that the new city will have a rocky Acropolis (836) and that there will be a kind of Panathenea (827); cf. Sommerstein, *Birds*, 1-2.

¹⁷ For πολιοῦχος, see Chapter I, p. 11 n. 4. This is the single explicit reference to Athena Πολιάς in the extant comedies of Aristophanes.

Καὶ λῶστον μὲν οὖν
τὸ Φλέγγρας πεδίων, ἵνα οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς γηγενεῖς
ἀλαζονευόμενοι καθυπερηκόντισαν. (823-25)

As the protagonist's description is reminiscent of traditional songs of praise for the city, the chorus responds to the site as if it were a new Athens;¹⁸ the singers then ask who will be its tutelary deity and for whom will they weave the sacred peplos:

Λιπαρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως. Τίς δαὶ θεὸς
πολιοῦχος ἔσται; Τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον; (826-27)

When Euelpides inquires whether the patron deity of the new city should not be Athena Polias (τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῷμεν πολιάδα; 828), Pisthetaerus, "topping" the apparent wit of his companion, turns the whole matter into a political joke:

Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν εὐτακτος πόλις,
ὅπου θεὸς γυνὴ γεγονυῖα πανοπλίαν
ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα, Κλεισθένης δὲ κερκίδα; (829-31)

These lines reflect how cities in a state of political and social upheaval are often portrayed in tragedy, and they seem specifically to parody lines from Euripides' *Meleagrus*: εἰ κερκίδων μὲν ἀνδράσιν μέλοι πόνοσ, ἢ γυναιξὶ δ' ὅπλων ἐμπέσοιεν ἡδοναί (fr. 522 N²).¹⁹ Moreover, the image of the armed goddess contrasts with that of Cleisthenes, whose effeminacy is the butt of jokes in many of the comedies.²⁰ While the female deity stands outfitted in full panoply, Cleisthenes is envisioned as going about, not with weapons, but with a spindle, presumably for weaving her peplos.

Peace

Athena does not figure into the themes and action of this play in any significant way. At first glance this may seem surprising, since the subject matter of *Peace*, ending the war and restoring peace to Athens and

¹⁸ Cf. *Ach.* 639-40; *Eq.* 1329 (borrowed from *Pi.* fr. 76); *Nu.* 300; *Georgoi PCG* 3.2, fr. 112.2.

¹⁹ Koch, *Av.* 829; Rau, *Paratragodia*, 196-97. For the theme in tragedy, cf. *E. Suppl.* 447; *S. Phaedra*, *TrGF* 4, fr. 683.1.

²⁰ *Nu.* 355; *Lys.* 1092; *Th.* 235, 574-81; *Ra.* 57, 422-24. Cf. *Ach.* 117-18; *Eq.* 1372-74; *Th.* 575.

the Greek world at large, has obvious analogies to the *Lysistrata*, where Athena does play such an important role. But unlike *Peace*, the latter play is structured around a male-female dichotomy set on the Acropolis, and Athena herself is the most appropriate mediator for resolving both the military conflict and the war between the sexes. Furthermore, we need only recall that Athena plays no role in *Acharnians*, which also deals with themes of peace, to realize that the poet has a wide range of strategies at his disposal for presenting the dramas.²¹

The epithets of Athena to be considered in this play occur in an exclamation of delight uttered by the comic hero Tyrgaeus (271-73). Having just learned from the stage character Polemus that the Athenian war-monger, the "pestle" Cleon, is dead, Tyrgaeus addresses Athena by the honorific titles πότνια and δέσποινα²²

Εὖ γ', ὦ πότνια δέσποινα Ἀθηναία, ποιῶν,
ἀπόλωλ' ἐκείνος κὰν δέοντι τῇ πόλει,
†εἰ πρὶν γε τὸν μυτιωτὸν ἡμῖν ἐχχέαι. (271-73)²³

Tyrgaeus regards Cleon's death as a necessary condition for the establishment of peace in the Greek world. When Tyrgaeus next learns that the major opponent of peace on the Spartan side, the "pestle" Brasidas, has also been killed, he in turn addresses the particular deities of that city:²⁴

Εὖ γ', εὖ γε ποιήσαντες, ὦ Διοσκόρω.
ἴσως ἂν εὖ γένοιτο· θαρρεῖτ', ὦ βροτοί. (285-86).

²¹ *Peace* was produced at the City Dionysia in 421 B.C. shortly before the formal ratification of the Peace of Nicias (*Schol. Ar., Pax Arg. 3*). Cf. e.g., the virtual absence of Athena from *Ecclesiazusae* which, like *Lysistrata*, deals with the theme of a chorus of women "saving the city" (*Ec. 202-03; Lys. 30, 41*). For σωτηρία in Aristophanes, see Frey, *MH* 1948, 168 ff.

²² For the honorific titles πότνια and δέσποινα, see Chapter I, p. 17. Cleon is also characterized as a "pestle" at *Eq. 981-84* (Chapter I, 25-26 n. 54; Taillardat, *Images*, 702, 898). The first mention of Athena in the play occurs when Hermes exclaims: ἐξαπατώμεθα, νῆ την Ἀθηνᾶν (217-18; cf. 726). Examples of swearing by Athena are relatively rare in Old Comedy; see Blaszcak, *Götteranrufung*, 23-27.

²³ There are numerous suggestions to make sense out of this line, none of which are satisfactory; see Platnauer, *Peace*, ad loc.

²⁴ ἐτεθνήκει Κλέων τε καὶ Βρασιδᾶς, οἵπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μάλιστα ἡναντιοῦντο τῇ εἰρήνῃ, *Thuc. 5.16.1*.

*Ecclesiazusae and Plutus*²⁵

At first glance we might expect Athena to figure prominently into the themes and action of *Ecclesiazusae* inasmuch as the play deals with women taking political control of the city, and so recalls the plot of *Lysistrata*, where the goddess's function is significant.²⁶ But Athena's role in *Ecclesiazusae* is incidental to the dramatic action, and arises in connection with a stock invocation to the gods in which Chremes summons the goddess as πότνια Παλλὰς (476). The same can be said for Athena's role in Aristophanes' last surviving play, *Plutus*.²⁷ His sight miraculously restored, Plutus gazes in wonder on the plain of Athens, which he salutes as σεμνῆς Παλλάδος (772).

The invocation of Chremes to Athena and the gods follows immediately on the remarks of his despairing neighbor, Blepyrus. When Chremes reports that the rebellious women have voted themselves political power in the assembly, Blepyrus finds consolation in a story told by the older generation, namely, that the gods will turn all foolish and ridiculous decisions made by the Athenian assemblies to the better:

λόγος γέ τοί τις ἔστι τῶν γεραιτέρων,
 ἀνόηθ' ὅς' ἂν καὶ μῶρα βουλευσώμεθα,
 ἅπαντ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἡμῖν ξυμφέρειν. (473-75)

Chremes responds immediately with an appeal to Athena and the gods to intervene again on the city's behalf. He exclaims:

Καὶ ξυμφέροι γ', ὦ πότνια Παλλὰς καὶ θεοί (476)

As we have seen elsewhere, the epithet πότνια is an honorific address reserved for mortal mistresses of the house and for certain god-

²⁵ There is little scholarly doubt that *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* mark an evolution in the development of ancient comedy, but the extent to which these two last surviving plays differ from the earlier works of Aristophanes should not be overestimated. See the discussion of Rothwell, *Persuasion in Ecclesiazusae*, 1-25.

²⁶ The precise production date of *Ecclesiazusae* is uncertain; scholars generally date the play to 393 B.C. or perhaps 392; the festival at which the drama was performed and what place it earned in the competition are unknown; see Ussher, *Ecclesiazusae*, pp. xx-xxv.

²⁷ The version of *Plutus* which we possess was produced in 388 B.C.; like the former comedy, the drama at which it was performed and what place it earned in the competition are unknown (*Schol. Ar., Pl. Arg.* 3).

desses.²⁸ The invocation of Chremes reflects a stock formula of comedy in which first a particular god and then the gods at large are invoked.²⁹ That Athena should have prominence in the invocation follows naturally from her role as patron goddess of the city. Chremes expresses the hope that Athena, the guardian of the city, and the gods will again intervene to rescue the Athenians from political folly.³⁰

The final epithet of Athena to be discussed, σεμνή, occurs in *Plutus*.³¹ The god has regained his sight at the sanctuary of Asclepius, and travels to Athens, which is treated as his homeland. Plutus first salutes the Sun and then the plain of Παλλὰς σεμνή, “revered Pallas,” and the “land of Cecrops:”

Καὶ προσκυνῶ γε πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ἥλιον,
ἔπειτα σεμνῆς Παλλάδος κλεινὸν πέδον
χώραν τε πᾶσαν Κέκροπος ἢ μ' ἐδέξατο. (771-73)

The epithet σεμνή is part of a parody of the traditional salute uttered by a citizen on safe return to his homeland.³² More specifically, the prayer seems to recall the reaction of Theseus as he makes obeisance to the Earth and Air after witnessing the departure of the blind Oedipus to the underworld (*OC* 1653-55):

ἔπειτα μέντοι βαιὸν οὐδὲ σὺν λόγῳ

²⁸ Chapter I, p. 17 n. 27.

²⁹ E.g., *Ar. Pl.* 1 (ὦ ζεῦ καὶ θεοί), 438 (ἄναξ Ἀπολλὼν καὶ θεοί); Alexis, *Phaidros*, *PCG* 2, fr. 247,14 (μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς). For additional examples of formulaic oaths and invocations to the gods, see Werres, *Beteuerungsformeln*.

³⁰ The Scholiast refers to a story about Poseidon's rage over having lost the contest for the patronage of the city and the curse of δυσβουλία which he placed on the Athenians because of this loss; Athena, it is said, reversed this curse so that all would turn out for the best. For the tradition of Athenian δυσβουλία in drama, cf. *Ar. Nu.* 587-89, *Eq.* 1055; *E. Supp.* 321.

³¹ The version of *Plutus* that we possess was produced in 388 B.C. (*Schol. Ar., Pl.*, Arg. 3). The festival at which the play was performed and the place that it was awarded in the competition are unknown.

³² For examples of the greeting uttered by returning heroes in drama, cf. *A. Ag.* 503-17 (with Fraenkel); *Men. Sam.* 101-08, *Asp.* 491-97, frs. 1 and 287; Schade-waldt, *Monolog*, 51; Gronewald, *ZPE* 1992, 51-52. On the topos, see Schroeder, *De Laudibus Athenarum, passim*; Butts, *Glorification of Athens*, esp. 176-214. Both the meter and the diction of the passage are paratragic (Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 128; Rau, *Paratragodia*, 145).

ὀρώμεν αὐτὸν γῆν τε προσκυνοῦνθ' ἅμα
καὶ τὸν θεῶν Ὀλυμπον ἐν ταύτῳ χρόνῳ.

Moreover, the title σεμνή is usually associated with subterranean deities. Thus as part of the characterization of Plutus the poet uses the appropriate epithet for Athena.³³

³³ Σεμνή is elsewhere attested with Athena at S. *OC* 1090; E. *IT* 1492 f.; *Orph. H.* 32, 1; Plu. *Arist.* 772; Antiph. *Didymoi*, *PCG* 2, fr. 81,4. For the epithet with subterranean deities, cf. LSJ s.v. σεμνή.

Appendix

I. Epithets and Names of Major Deities (alphabetical)

Aphrodite		Ἡκάεργος	<i>Th.</i> 972
καλή	<i>Ach.</i> 989	θηροκτόνος	<i>Lys.</i> 1262
Κύπρις	<i>Ach.</i> 989; <i>Ec.</i> 965; <i>Lys.</i> 1290	θηροφόνος	<i>Th.</i> 320
κυπρογένεια	<i>Lys.</i> 551	κόρα	<i>Th.</i> 115
μεδέουσα	<i>Lys.</i> 834	κυναγός	<i>Lys.</i> 1272
πότνια	<i>Lys.</i> 833	μάκαιρα	<i>Nu.</i> 598
		παρθένος	<i>Lys.</i> 1272
		πολυώνυμος	<i>Th.</i> 320
		τοξοφόρος	<i>Th.</i> 970
Apollo		Athena	
ἀγνιεύς	<i>Th.</i> 489; <i>Ve.</i> 875	ἄζυξ	<i>Th.</i> 1139
ἄναξ	<i>Av.</i> 295; <i>Nu.</i> 595; <i>Pl.</i> 438; <i>Ve.</i> 875	ἀρχηγέτις	<i>Lys.</i> 644
ἀποτρόπαιος	<i>Av.</i> 61; <i>Pl.</i> 359, 854; <i>Ve.</i> 161	γλαυκῶπις	<i>Th.</i> 317-18
γείτων	<i>Ve.</i> 875	γοργολόφα	<i>Eq.</i> 1181
δεσπότης	<i>Ve.</i> 875	δεινά	<i>Nu.</i> 967
Δήλιος	<i>Nu.</i> 596	δέσποινα	<i>Eq.</i> 763; <i>Lys.</i> 317; <i>Pax</i> 271
δίδυμος	<i>Lys.</i> 1281	ἐπιχώριος	<i>Nu.</i> 601
εὐλύρας	<i>Th.</i> 969	ἡνίοχος	<i>Nu.</i> 602
εὐφρων	<i>Lys.</i> 1281	ἡ θεός	<i>Eq.</i> 446, 903, 1169, 1173, 1185, 1203; <i>Nu.</i> 601; <i>Lys.</i> 241, 303, 341
ἡέχορος	<i>Lys.</i> 1281	κληδοῦχος	<i>Th.</i> 1142
Ἥιος	<i>Lys.</i> 1281	κόρα/κούρη	<i>Th.</i> 317, 1139
λοξίας	<i>Eq.</i> 1047, 1072; <i>Pl.</i> 8	μεδέουσα	<i>Eq.</i> 585, 763
Λύκιος	<i>Eq.</i> 1240	Νίκη	<i>Lys.</i> 317
Πύθιος	<i>Ve.</i> 869	ξύμαχος	<i>Lys.</i> 346
ρύτωρ	<i>Th.</i> 108	ὀμβρσιμοπάτρα	<i>Eq.</i> 1178
Φοῖβος	<i>Eq.</i> 1240; <i>Nu.</i> 595; <i>Pl.</i> 81, 213; <i>Ra.</i> 754; <i>Th.</i> 109, 112; <i>Ve.</i> 869	παγκρατής	<i>Th.</i> 317
χρυσοκόμας	<i>Av.</i> 216	Παλλάς	<i>Eq.</i> 81, 1172; <i>Nu.</i> 300, 967, 1265; <i>Pl.</i> 772; <i>Th.</i> 1136
χρυσολύρης	<i>Th.</i> 315	πάμμαχος / -μάχος	<i>Lys.</i> 1320
Artemis		παρθένος	<i>Th.</i> 1139
ἀγνή	<i>Th.</i> 971	περσέπολις	<i>Nu.</i> 967
ἀγροτέρα	<i>Eq.</i> 660; <i>Lys.</i> 1262; <i>Th.</i> 115	πόλιας	<i>Av.</i> 828
ἀκαλανθίς	<i>Av.</i> 874		
ἄνασσα	<i>Th.</i> 971		
ἀπειρολεχῆς	<i>Th.</i> 118		

Athena (continued)

πολιοῦχος	<i>Av.</i> 827; <i>Eq.</i> 581; <i>Lys.</i> 345; <i>Nu.</i> 602
πότνια	<i>Ec.</i> 476; <i>Eq.</i> 1170; <i>Pax</i> 271
πυλαιμάχος	<i>Eq.</i> 1172
σεμνή	<i>Pl.</i> 772
τριτογένεια	<i>Lys.</i> 347; <i>Nu.</i> 989
τριτογενής	<i>Eq.</i> 1189
φίλοχορος	<i>Th.</i> 1136
φοβειστράτη	<i>Eq.</i> 1177
χαλκίοικος	<i>Lys.</i> 1299, 1321
χρυσολόφα	<i>Lys.</i> 344
χρυσόλογχος	<i>Th.</i> 318

Demeter

ἄνασσα	<i>Ra.</i> 385b
βασίλεια	<i>Ra.</i> 383
δέσποινα	<i>Th.</i> 286
καρποφόρος	<i>Ra.</i> 383
πολυτίμητος	<i>Th.</i> 286
φίλη	<i>Th.</i> 286
χλόη	<i>Lys.</i> 835

Dionysos

ἄναξ	<i>Pax</i> 442
βακχείος	<i>Th.</i> 987
βρόμος	<i>Th.</i> 991
δεσπότης	<i>Ach.</i> 247; <i>Ra.</i> 1; <i>Th.</i> 988
κισσοφόρος	<i>Th.</i> 987
κωμαστής	<i>Nu.</i> 606
παῖς	<i>Th.</i> 991

Eros

ἀμφιθαλῆς	<i>Av.</i> 1737
γλυκύθυμος	<i>Lys.</i> 551
χρυσόπτερος	<i>Av.</i> 1738

Hera

ἄλοχος	<i>Lys.</i> 1286
εὐδαίμων	<i>Av.</i> 1741
Ὀλύμπια	<i>Av.</i> 1731
ὀλβία	<i>Lys.</i> 1286
πότνια	<i>Lys.</i> 1286
τελεία	<i>Th.</i> 973

Heracles

ἄναξ	<i>Ach.</i> 94; <i>Av.</i> 277, 295; <i>Lys.</i> 296;
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Pax 180

πολυτίμητος	<i>Ach.</i> 807
Hermes	
ἀλεξίκακος	<i>Pax</i> 422
ἄναξ	<i>Pax</i> 389a
δεσπότης	<i>Pax</i> 389, 648
δολῖος	<i>Pl.</i> 1157; <i>Th.</i> 1202
ἐμπολαῖος	<i>Ach.</i> 816; <i>Pl.</i> 1155
ἐναγώνιος	<i>Pl.</i> 1161
ἐριούνιος	<i>Ra.</i> 1144
ἡγεμόνιος	<i>Pl.</i> 1159
νόμος	<i>Th.</i> 977
παλιγκάπηλος	<i>Pl.</i> 1156
στροφαῖος	<i>Pl.</i> 1154
φίλος	<i>Pax</i> 416
χθόνιος	<i>Ra.</i> 1126, 1138, 1145

Pan

κεροβάτας	<i>Ra.</i> 230
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Persephone

κόρη	<i>Ra.</i> 337
πολυτίμητος	<i>Ra.</i> 336
πότνια	<i>Ra.</i> 337
σώτειρα	<i>Ra.</i> 378

Plutus

κράτιστος	<i>Pl.</i> 230
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Poseidon

ἄγριος	<i>Nu.</i> 568
ἄλιμέδων	<i>Th.</i> 323
ἄναξ	<i>Eq.</i> 551; <i>Ve.</i> 143, 1532
ἀσφάλειος	<i>Ach.</i> 682
γεραίσιτος	<i>Eq.</i> 561
ἵππιος	<i>Eq.</i> 551
μεγασθενῆς	<i>Nu.</i> 566
μεδέων	<i>Eq.</i> 560
μοχλευτής	<i>Nu.</i> 568
παῖς	<i>Eq.</i> 551
πατήρ	<i>Ve.</i> 1533
πόντιος	<i>Ra.</i> 1341; <i>Th.</i> 322
ποντομεδών	<i>Ve.</i> 1532
ποντοπόσειδον	<i>Pl.</i> 1050
σεμνός	<i>Th.</i> 322
Σουινάρατος	<i>Eq.</i> 560
ταμίας	<i>Nu.</i> 566

Poseidon (continued)
 χρυσοστρίαινος *Eq.* 559

Zeus

ἀγοραῖος *Eq.* 410, 500
 ἄρχων *Av.* 1733
 βασιλεύς *Av.* 223; *Nu.* 2,
 153; *Pl.* 1095;
Ra. 1278; *Ve.*
 624
 δεσπότης *Lys.* 940
 διόπτης *Ach.* 435
 Ἑλλήνιος *Eq.* 1253
 καταιβάτης *Pax* 42
 κατόπτης *Ach.* 435
 κεραυνοβρόντης *Pax* 376
 Κρονίδης *Ve.* 652

μεγαβρόντης *Ve.* 323
 μεγαλώνυμος *Th.* 315
 μέγας *Av.* 1733; *Nu.*
 565
 Ὀλύμπιος *Nu.* 366
 ὁμόγνιος *Ra.* 750
 ὁμομαστιγίας *Ra.* 756
 παγκρατῆς *Th.* 368
 πατήρ *Ach.* 223; *Ve.* 652;
Nu. 1468, 1469
 πατρῷος *Av.* 667; *Eq.* 1390
 πολυτίμητος *Pl.* 1175, 1189;
Th. 1009
 τύραννος *Nu.* 564
 ὑψιβρεμέτης *Lys.* 773
 ὑψιμέδων *Nu.* 563

II. Epithets and Names of Major Deities (by play)

Acharnenses

94 Heracles ἄναξ
 223 Zeus πατήρ
 247 Dionysos δεσπότης
 435 Zeus διόπτης
 435 Zeus κατόπτης
 682 Poseidon ἀσφάλειος
 807 Heracles πολυτίμητος
 816 Hermes ἐμπολαῖος
 989 Aphrodite Κύπρις
 989 Aphrodite καλή

Aves

61 Apollo ἀποτρόπαιος
 216 Apollo χρυσοκόμας
 223 Zeus βασιλεύς
 277 Heracles ἄναξ
 295 Apollo ἄναξ
 667 Zeus πολυτίμητος
 827 Athena πολιοῦχος
 828 Athena πόλις
 874 Artemis ἀκαλανθής
 1731 Hera Ὀλύμπια
 1733 Zeus μέγας
 1733 Zeus ἄρχων
 1737 Eros ἀμφιθαλής
 1738 Eros χρυσόπτερος
 1741 Hera εὐδαίμων

Ecclesiazusae

476 Athena πότνια
 965 Aphrodite Κύπρις

Equites

410 Zeus ἀγοραῖος
 446 Athena ἡ θεός
 500 Zeus ἀγοραῖος
 551 Poseidon ἄναξ
 551 Poseidon ἵππιος
 559 Poseidon χρυσοστρίαινος
 560 Poseidon μεδέων
 560 Poseidon Σουνιάρατος
 561 Poseidon γεραίσιος
 561 Poseidon παῖς
 581 Athena Παλλάς
 581 Athena πολιοῦχος
 585 Athena μεδέουσα
 660 Artemis ἀγροτέρα
 763 Athena δέσποινα
 763 Athena μεδέουσα
 903 Athena ἡ θεός
 1047 Apollo λοξίας
 1072 Apollo λοξίας
 1169 Athena ἡ θεός
 1170 Athena πότνια
 1172 Athena Παλλάς
 1172 Athena πυλαίμαχος

Equites (continued)

1173	Athena	ή θεός
1177	Athena	φοβεσιστράτη
1178	Athena	όμβριμοπάτρα
1181	Athena	γοργολόφα
1185	Athena	ή θεός
1189	Athena	τριτογενής
1203	Athena	ή θεός
1240	Apollo	Φοῖβος
1240	Apollo	Λύκιος
1253	Zeus	Ἑλλήνιος
1390	Zeus	πολυτίμητος

Lysistrata

241	Athena	ή θεός
296	Heracles	ἄναξ
303	Athena	ή θεός
317	Athena	Νίκη
317	Athena	δέσποινα
341	Athena	ή θεός
344	Athena	χρυσολόφα
345	Athena	πολιούχος
346	Athena	ξύμμαχος
347	Athena	τριτογένεια
551	Aphrodite	κυπρογένεια
551	Eros	γλυκύθυμος
644	Athena	ἀρχηγέτις
773	Zeus	ὑπιβρεμέτης
833	Aphrodite	πότνια
834	Aphrodite	μεδέουσα
835	Demeter	χλόη
940	Zeus	δεσπότης
1262	Artemis	ἀγροτέρα
1262	Artemis	θηροκτόνος
1272	Artemis	κυναγός
1272	Artemis	παρθένος
1281	Apollo	δίδυμος
1281	Apollo	εὐφρων
1281	Apollo	Ίλιον
1281	Apollo	ἡγέτορας
1286	Hera	ἄλοχος
1286	Hera	πότνια
1286	Hera	ὀλβία
1290	Aphrodite	Κύπρις
1299	Athena	χαλκίοικος
1320	Athena	πάμμαχος / -μάχος
1321	Athena	χαλκίοικος

Nubes

2	Zeus	βασιλεύς
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153	Zeus	βασιλεύς
300	Athena	Παλλάς
366	Zeus	Ὀλύμπιος
563	Zeus	ὑψιμέδων
564	Zeus	τύραννος
565	Zeus	μέγας
566	Poseidon	μεγασθενής
566	Poseidon	ταμίας
568	Poseidon	ἄγριος
568	Poseidon	μοχλευτής
595	Apollo	ἄναξ
596	Apollo	Δήλιος
595	Apollo	Φοῖβος
598	Artemis	μάκαιρα
601	Athena	ἐπιχώριος
602	Athena	ἡνίοχος
602	Athena	πολιούχος
606	Dionysos	κωμαστής
967	Athena	δεινά
967	Athena	Παλλάς
967	Athena	περσέπολις
989	Athena	τριτογένεια
1265	Athena	Παλλάς
1468	Zeus	πατῆρ
1469	Zeus	πατῆρ

Pax

42	Zeus	καταιβάτης
180	Heracles	ἄναξ
271	Athena	δέσποινα
271	Athena	πότνια
376	Zeus	κεραυνό- βρόντης
	Hermes	δεσπότης
389a	Hermes	δεσπότης
389	Hermes	ἄναξ
416	Hermes	φίλος
422	Hermes	ἄλεξίκακος
442	Dionysos	ἄναξ
648	Hermes	δεσπότης

Plutus

8	Apollo	λοξίας
81	Apollo	Φοῖβος
213	Apollo	Φοῖβος
230	Plutus	κράτιστος
359	Apollo	ἀποτρόπαιος
438	Apollo	ἄναξ
772	Athena	Παλλάς
772	Athena	σεμνή
854	Apollo	ἀποτρόπαιος

Plutus (continued)

1050	Poseidon	ποντοπόσειδον
1095	Zeus	βασιλεύς
1154	Hermes	στροφαῖος
1155	Hermes	ἐμπολαῖος
1156	Hermes	παλιγ- κάπηλος
1157	Hermes	δολῖος
1159	Hermes	ἡγεμόνιος
1161	Hermes	ἐναγώνιος
1175	Zeus	σωτήρ
1189	Zeus	σωτήρ

Ranae

1	Dionysos	δεσπότης
230	Pan	κεροβάτας
298	Heracles	ἄναξ
337	Persephone	πολυτίμητος
337	Persephone	κῶρη
337	Persephone	πότνια
378	Persephone	σάτειρα
383	Demeter	βασιλεία
383	Demeter	καρποφόρος
385b	Demeter	ἄνασσα
750	Zeus	ὁμόνιος
754	Apollo	Φοῖβος
756	Zeus	ὁμομαστιγίας
1126	Hermes	χθόνιος
1138	Hermes	χθόνιος
1144	Hermes	ἐριούνιος
1145	Hermes	χθόνιος
1278	Zeus	βασιλεύς
1341	Poseidon	πόντιος

Thesmophoriazusae

108	Apollo	ρύτωρ
109	Apollo	Φοῖβος
112	Apollo	Φοῖβος
115	Artemis	ἀγροτέρα
115	Artemis	κόρα
118	Artemis	ἀπειρολεχῆς
286	Demeter	δέσποινα
286	Demeter	φύλη
286	Demeter	πολυτίμητος
315	Apollo	χρυσολύρης
315	Zeus	μεγαλάνυμος
317	Athena	κόρα

317	Athena	παγκρατής
317-8	Athena	γλαυκῶπις
320	Artemis	πολυώνυμος
320	Artemis	θηροφόνος
322	Poseidon	πόντιος
322	Poseidon	σεμνός
323	Poseidon	ἀλιμέδων
368	Zeus	παγκρατής
489	Apollo	ἀγυιεύς
969	Apollo	εὐλύρας
970	Artemis	τοξοφόρος
971	Artemis	ἀγνή
971	Artemis	ἄνασσα
972	Artemis	Ἡκάεργος
973	Hera	τελεία
977	Hermes	νόμος
987	Dionysos	βακχεῖος
987	Dionysos	κισσοφόρος
988	Dionysos	δεσπότης
991	Dionysos	βρόμιος
991	Dionysos	παῖς
1009	Zeus	σωτήρ
1136	Athena	φιλόχορος
1136	Athena	Παλλάς
1139	Athena	ἄλκυξ
1139	Athena	κοῦρη
1139	Athena	παρθένος
1142	Athena	κληδοῦχος
1202	Hermes	δολῖος

Vespae

143	Poseidon	ἄναξ
161	Apollo	ἀποτρόπαιος
323	Zeus	μεγαβρόντης
624	Zeus	βασιλεύς
652	Zeus	Κρονίδης
652	Zeus	πατήρ
869	Apollo	Φοῖβος
869	Apollo	Πύθιος
875	Apollo	δεσπότης
875	Apollo	ἀγυιεύς
875	Apollo	ἄναξ
875	Apollo	γείτων
1532	Poseidon	ἄναξ
1532	Poseidon	ποντομεδῶν
1533	Poseidon	πατήρ

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